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# PRINCI- PLES FOR

yong Princes:

Collected out of  
fundry Authors, by  
GEORGE MORE  
Esquire.

PROV. 19.

*Heare counsell, and receiue instru-  
ction, that thou mayst be wise in  
the latter end.*

Robert  Cordone

LONDON,  
Printed by Nicholas Okes dwel-  
ling neare Holborne  
Bridge, 1611.

PRINTED  
FOR

Young Persons;

Collected out of

lively Authors, by

GEORGE MASON

Esquire.

PROV. 19.

Here compiled, and revised by

John, that thou mayst be wise in

the latter end.



LONDON.

Printed by Nicholas ...

ing near the ...

Bridget ...





TO THE  
MOST NO-  
BLE, MIGHTIE,  
and hopefull Prince,  
HENRY, Prince of  
*great Britaine.*



HE age of a  
man (most wor-  
thy Prince) by  
some is deuided  
into foure parts,  
The first whereof is, *puerili-  
tas, periculorū, palagus*, which  
God be thanked your High-  
nesse hath happily passed.  
The second is *Iuuentus disci-  
plinarum,*

## THE EPISTLE

*ciplinarum capax*, into which your Highnesse is entred, a time onely of your Highnesse haruest to reape and lay vp that prouision and treasure, which can neuer be taken from you, nor euer bee consumed: learning and knowledge, which by a little labour and study is easily had, more easily carried, and most necessary for a Prince, that furnished thereof, your Highnesse labour in whatsoever, in the third age may overcome, for *virilitas laborando vincit*. Then your Highnesse must labour, and spend the fruits of your haruest, for the honour of your selfe, and good of the common wealth

## D E D I C A T O R Y.

wealth. That *senectus* bee not to your Highnesse (as it is to many) *curarum cumulus*, but *consolatio laborum*, bringing with it, by your Highnesse labours, an assured repose and quietnesse, both to your selfe, and commonwealth. It is more then thirty yeares ago that I dedicated my poore seruice to your Highnesse Grandmother which by my best endeavours I haue euer continued to his Maiesty, and will neuer faile to your selfe. Therefore according to my poore talent, notwithstanding your Highnesse hath meanes to vnderstand more then I can write, and doth know all that

## THE EPISTLE

I haue set downe; yet reading one thing oft with variety, cannot hurt but engraue a perfit remembrance thereof for euer, which considered, and presuming of your Highnesse as gracious acceptance of this my myte, as *Artaxerxes* king of the *Persians* did Princely respect a present of simple Matter, by the hands of a poore man, whereof hee had no neede, thinking it an act of as great magnanimity to receiue a poore mans present, as to giue liberally. I am emboldned most humbly to offer to your Highnesse view, this my little collection, praying God to blesse your Highnes, with

DEDICATRY.

with all vertue and perfecti-  
on fitting for a Prince, wher-  
by your renowne and ho-  
nour may bee increased,  
and your Empire enlar-  
ged. And dutifully  
remaining

Your Highnesse most  
humble seruant,

GEORGE MOR'E.



## To the Reader.



Honourable and courteous Reader, though I had no intention to publish this collection, yet now upon some consideration, & for that also I hold it as fit for yong Noblemen and Gentlemen to reade, as for yong Princes to vnderstand, for that they may reape some profit thereby, I thought it not inconuenient to commit the same to the presse, commending it to your good acceptance, and fauourable censure, my meaning to you being of more valem then my labour. And so I rest deuoted to do you better service.

George More.





# Principles for yong Princes.

## CHAP. I.

*The Regall and politicke gouerne-  
ment.*



Sin naturall things the head beeing cut off, the rest cannot be called a body : no more can in politicke things a multitude or communaltie without a head be incorporate. Whereupon the Philosopher 1. *Politicorum* saith, That whensoever of many is made one, one amongst them must gouerne, and the rest be gouerned. Therefore a people desiring to liue in societie

cietie together, and willing to erect either a kingdome, or other politicke body, must of necessitie chuse one to gouverne that body. Who in a kingdome of *Regendo* is called *Rex*. And so by the people is established a kingdome, which gouvernement is absolutely the best. And as the head of the Physicall body cannot change the ueynes and sinewes thereof, nor deny the members of their proper strength & necessary nurriture: no more can a king (who is head of the politicke body) alter or change the laws of that body, or take frō the people their goods or substance against their wils. For a king is chosen to maintaine the lawes of his subiects, and to defend their bodies and goods. So *Brute* arriuing in this Island with his *Troians*, erected here

here a regall and politicke gouernment, which hath for the most part continued euer since, for though wee haue had many changes, as first the *Romans* subduing the *Britans*, then the *Britans* entring againe: then the *Saxons*, then the *Danes*, then the *Saxons* againe, & lastly the *Normans*: yet in the time of all these Nations, & during their raignes, the kingdome was for the most part gouerned in the same manner that it is now. *Plutarke* saith that at first all that gouerned were called tyrants, but afterward the good gouernours called kings, and the euill gouernours Tyrants: for in the beginning, some men couetous of honour and glory, did by their strength force the people to obey them, and to subiect themselves to their lawes at their pleasure,

sure, & so established only a Regal government, which done by force, and governed against all right & reason by rigour, was accepted tyrannical. For though a man by force doe subdue Cities and Countries, yet he ought to rule according to reason: and if hee know God, according to the law of God, But when hee is chosen, or admitted king by the people, and hath his power from them, hee may not subiect the people to any other power, yet hee hath a great and large prerogative, which he may vse at his pleasure.

And here I thought not amisse to set downe some few lawes and customes of other common wealthes, whereby their good government and life may appeare, they not being Christians.

*Ptolomes*

*Ptolmemus* king of Egypt feasting one day seuen Embassadors, at his request euery one of them shewed vnto him three of their principall lawes and customes. And first the Embassador of Rome said, we haue the Temples in great reuerence, we are very obedient to our gouernors : and we doe punish wicked men & euill lyuers seuerely. The *Carthaginian* Embassador said, in the cōmon welth of *Carthage*, the Nobility neuer cease fighting, nor the common people and artificers labouring, nor the Philosophers teaching, The *Cicilian* said, In our common wealth Iustice is exactly kept: Marchandize exercised with truth, and al men accompt themselves equall, The *Rhodians* said: at *Rhodes* old men are honest: yong men shamefast : and women

men solitary, and of few words. The *Arthenians* said, In our common wealth, rich men are not suffered to bee deuided in facti-  
ons: nor poore men to be idle,  
nor the gouernours to be igno-  
rant. The *Lacedemonians* said,  
In *Sparta* enuy reigneth not,  
for all men are equall, nor coue-  
teousnesse, for all goods are cō-  
mon: nor sloth, for all do labour.  
In our common wealth said the  
Embassadour of the *Sicyonians*,  
voyages are not permitted, be-  
cause they should not bring  
home new fagtions: Physicians  
are not suffred, least they should  
kill the sound: nor Lawyers, to  
take vpon them the defence of  
causes and sutes. And to these  
may bee added *Anatharsis*  
letter to *Cressus* King of *Lydia*,  
concerning the *Gretians*. Know  
(saith he) that in the studies of  
Greece



Greece wee learne not to command, but to obey: not to speake much, but to keep silence: not to be contēious, but to be humble, not to get much, but to content our selues with a little: not to reuenge our harmes, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue our owne: not to take care to be honoured, but to labour to be vertuous: Lastly, wee learne to despise that which others loue, and to loue that which others despise, which is pouerty.

## CHAP. 2.

*Who fittest to gouerne.*

**N**Ow to shew what manner of man is fittest to gouerne, I reade in *Linie* that men borne in armes, great in deedes, and rude in eloquence, ought to bee chosen

chosen Consuls : & that men of quick spirits, sharp wits, learned in the law, and eloquent, should be for the Cittie. For a Prince (so the Coñsul was for his time) ought to bee a Martiall man, stoute and couragious, as well to defend his subiects, as to offend his enemies, great and worthy in his actions, as well to be feared of his foes, as to bee beloued of his friend: and not to be curious, to speake eloquently, but to deliuer his minde plainely and wisely: it being more necessary for a Prince to doe well, then to speake well. For wise words are not commendable, if the deeds be not answerable, whereupon the Philosopher *Pacuius* saith, those are to bee hated, who in their acts are fooles, and in their words Philosophers. They that will therefore (saith *Plato*)  
haue

haue glory in this life, and attain to glory after death, and be beloued of many, and feared of all, let him be vertuous in doing good works, and deciu no man with vaine words. And he counselleth the *Athenians* to chuse a gouernour that is iust in his sentence, true of his word, constant in his act, secret & liberal. These be the principall morall vertues most necessary in a Prince.

CHAP. 3,

*A Prince to. bee iust in his sentence.*

FOR a Prince ought to bee iust in his sentence, according to the words of *Salomon*, Sap. 1. saying, *Love iustice you that iudge the earth, For a iust King* (saith he) *Pro. 29. doth aduance his country: and the king that iudgeth the*  
poore

# CHAP. 3.

## Principles for

poore rightly, his throne shall bee  
establisbed for ever. Therefore hee  
ought not to be led either by fa-  
uour, passion, or gaine: but ac-  
cording to equity and iustice: &  
to haue care that all his Coun-  
sellours and Magistrates doe the  
like. And to attaine to this ver-  
tue of iustice, a Prince must call  
to God for wisdom, which he  
cannot obtaine beeing of euill  
life: *For wisdom will not enter  
into a soule possessed with malice, nor  
dwell in a body subiect to sin, (saith  
Salomon) Sap. 1. But if thou  
(saith he) call for wisdom, and  
encline thine heart to Prudence:  
then shalt thou understand Iustice,  
and iudgment, and equity, and eue-  
ry right way. Prou. 2. Therefore  
he prayeth, saying: Giue mee (O  
Lord) that wisdom which assisteth  
thy seate, and cast me not off from  
the number of thy seruants, for that*

I am thy bond-slave, and the sonne  
of thy bond-woman, a weake man  
and of short life, unable to under-  
stand aright what is iustice and law:  
and whosoever is the most perfect  
and excellent amongst the sons of  
man, he is to be accounted as no body  
if thy wisdom doth not assist him.

Sap. 9. All good and worthy  
Princes haue laboured to attaine  
to this wisdom, and to execute  
iustice most exactly, inso much  
that some haue not spared their  
owne children: so sacred a thing  
they held iustice to bee. As for  
example, *Brutus*, who under-  
standing that his two sons were  
of the conspiracy for *Tarquinus*  
*Superbus*, caused them both to  
be put to death in his owne pre-  
sence. *Cassius* likewise seeking to  
get the love of the people, and  
to make himselfe king, was bea-  
ten to death by his father.

*Pau-  
sanias*

*nias* Generall of the *Lacedemonians*, receiued 500. talents of gold to betray *Sparta*, but *Agessilaus* his father vnderstanding thereof pursued him into the Temple of *Minerva* (whether hee fled for sanctuary) and caused the dores of the Temple to bee nailed vp, and so there made him die of famine, then his mother tooke his corps, and threw it to the dogs, not suffering it to bee interred, *Darius* likewise King of *Persia* vnderstanding that his son *Ariobrazanes*, ment to betray him to *Alexander magnus*, cut off his head. *Titus Manlius* being challenged by one of the *Latins* to fight the combate, stepped forth of his ranke, and in combate killed him, yet because it was done without licence, his owne father being then Consull and Generall presently put him to death,  
*Posthumius*



*Posthumus* likewise did the same to his sonne *Lidericke* Earle of *Harlebeeque*, and forrester of *Flanders*, hauing made very strait lawes for the reducing of his country to iustice and good life, put his sonne to death for breaking the law, in taking a basket of apples from a poore woman, & not paying for them. *Edward. 1.* put his sonne in pryson, *Prince Edward*, for breaking the Parkes of the Bishop of *Chester*. *Henry the 4.* also commended the Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, for committing the Prince to pryson, for transgressing the law. And *K. Antiochus* had that care to haue iustice ministred, as he writ to all the cities of his kingdome, that they should not execute any thing he commanded, if it were contrary to Law: but they, should first aduertise

aduertise him thereof: The Emperour *Iustinian* likewise commanded the Lawyers to be sworn that they should not plead in an euill and vniust cause. The like lawe was made in the ninth Parliament of *James* the first, king of Scotland, that all Counsellours and aduocates before they plead any temporall cause, should take oth and swear that they thinke the cause to be good they plead, *Lewis* the 9. king of France, was a iust and vertuous Prince, louing the good, and punishing the wicked, and was a capital enemy to sutes, commanding the Iudges to do speedy iustice, so that sutes then were laid away, *Alexander Magnus* was so farre for being transported from iustice, as when any made complaint to him of an other, he stopped alwaies one care, saying,

ing, hee must keepe that for the party accused. The Emperour *Adrian* was of that integrity in iustice, as when one *Alexander* accused another before him called *Aper*, & bringing his proofes onely in writing, he said that his informations were but paper & inke, and perhaps forged, and that a man ought not to be condemned, but by honest and substantiall witnesses, and therefore he sent *Aper* to *Rufus* gouernour of *Macedonia* (from whence he was brought) commanding him diligently to examine the witnesses against him, & to see that they were honest and of good name. King *Edgar* of England had likewise that care to do iustice, as in winter time he would ride vp and downe the country and make enquiry of the misdemeanors of his officers and gouernours

B

uernours, and punished them  
seuerely that offended the law.  
And as the followers of iustice  
shall not onely be famous in this  
world, but shal perpetually liue,  
and receiue a kingdome of glo-  
ry in the world to come, as saith  
Salomon, Sap. 5: So the Princes  
that minister iniustice, and doe  
not iudge rightly, shall reape in-  
famy, and incurre the high dis-  
pleasure of almighty God, as  
Salomon also witnesseth, saying:  
Hearken (O Kings) & understand:  
learne you who are Iudges of the  
bounds of the earth, in respect that  
power is giuen vnto you from aboue,  
& strength frō the highest, who will  
examine your works, & search your  
thoughts, and because when you  
were Minister in his kingdome,  
you did not iudge rightly, nor keepe  
the law of iustice, nor walke in the  
way of God, hee will appeare vnto  
you

you quickly, and horribly: for most  
rigorous iudgement is done vnto  
those that gouerne. With the poore  
& meane man mercy is used: but  
mighty men shall suffer torments  
mightily, Sap. 6. And the royall  
Prophet saith, that God is terri-  
ble to the Kings of the earth,  
Psal. 75. Which doth very well  
appeare by the strange punish-  
ments hee oftentimes inflicted  
vpon them, as vpon *Pharaoh*,  
who was drowned in the red  
sea, pursuing *Moses* and the ser-  
uants of God, vpon *Nabuchad-  
nezzar*, who was cast downe  
from his throne, and made com-  
panion to beasts, vpon *Ozias*,  
who was stricken by God with  
a filthy leprosie, vpon *Ioram* by an  
incurable fluxe, vpon *Antiochus*  
the tyrant, who rotted aliue: vp-  
on *Herod*, who for killing *Saint  
James*, and persecuting the rest

of the Apostles was stricken by an Angell, and consumed with wormes whilest he liued: vpon *Mempricius* king of great *Brytaine*, who was deuoured with wolues: vpon *Anastasius* the Emperour, who was killed with thunder: vpon *Seldred* a *Saxon*, king of *England*, who was killed by the deuill, as he was banqueting with his Nobility: vpon *Drabomira* Duchesse of *Bohemia*, who for procuring the death of *Ludinille* her mother in law, a very vertuous woman, and of many Priests also, was, as she passed in her coache, ouer the place where the Priests were murthered, swallowed vp by the earth: vpon the wicked king of *Nauarre*, Anno 1387. who fell into such an infirmitie, that all his limmes were cold: for remedy whereof hee was so-  
wed



wed in a cloth wet in aqua vi-  
tæ: and when the man had done,  
for lacke of a knife to cut the  
thrid in his needle, he burned it  
with the candle he vsed, and so  
by chance set the cloth on fire,  
which could not be quenched,  
but that the king lying three  
daies in extreame torment dyed  
thereof. And many mo for  
their iniustice and wickednesse  
haue beene punished very  
strangely, and oftentimes lost  
their kingdomes: for a king-  
dome, as appeareth *Eccle. cha. 11*  
is transferred from nations to na-  
tions, for iniustice and iniuries.  
Therefore it behoueth a Prince  
to haue most speciall care here-  
unto.

## CHAP. 4.

*A Prince to be true of his word.*

**I**T is requisite that a Prince should be true of his word, and faithful of his promise, both towards God and man, for it is said, *Deut. 23. When thou hast made a promise or vow to thy Lord God, be not slacke to yeeld it for he doth require it at thy hands. And Salomon saith. Prov. 8. I detest a double tongue. And againe, Prov. 17. he saith, that a lying lippe doth not become a Prince, Cicero likewise de officijs, saith, that fides, which we call fidelity, (consisting in the verity and constanc performance of wordes, promises, and couenants) is the foundation of iustice, which preferueth a common wealth. One of the lawes of the knights  
of*

of the band in Spaine was, that if any of them broke his promise, or falsified his word, hee went alone by himselfe, and nobody spoke to him, nor he to any. And the *Romans* had great care alwaies to performe their worde, Insomuch that the first Temple builded in *Rome* was dedicated to the goddesse Fidelity. And vpon a time they wanting money to pay their souldiers, and to maintaine their armies, thought it better to spend the goods of the cōmon wealth, then not to pay the souldiers their wages: saying, if the common wealth be not vpheld by faith, and keeping of promise, it wil not be vpheld by riches. And at an other time, because they could not aide the *Saguntines*, according to promise in due time (they being besieged, and for

want of aide, spoyled by *Hannibal*) did not onely build vp their cittie againe, but after this made war in *Spaine* for reuenge, by the space of 14. yeares. In which time they subdued the *Turditanes* (who brought *Hannibal* into *Spaine*) & made them pay tribute to the *Saguntines*, & chased out of all *Spaine* the *Carthaginians*, & restored all the *Saguntins* that were either imprisoned or fled. *Scipio* making war in *Affrica* against the *Carthaginians*, granted them truce for a time, that they might send Embassadours to *Rome* to treat of peace, but before the Embassadours returned from *Rome*, *Asdruball* spoyled 230. shippes of the *Romanes*, whereupon *Scipio* sent to *Carthage* to aduertise them of the breach of the truce: but his Embassadours could not  
be

be heard, but were threatened by the people. Soone after the Embassadors of *Carthage* returning home from *Rome*, came through the campe of *Scipio*, who sent for them, & told them, that though *Carthage* had broken the truce and law of armes, yet would not he breake the custome of the *Romanes*, which was to obserue the publike faith, & so let them passe. *Julius Caesar* likewise kept faith and promise alwaies with his enemies, though they broke with him. The Emperour *Nerua* (succeeding *Domitian* in the Empire, who had put to death diuers of the Senatours) did promise that he would neuer put to death any Senator: which greatly pleased all the Senate. Soone after some of the Senatours conspired against him: which discon-

red, hee would not put them to death, because of his promise. The Emperour *Augustus* hauing made proclamation to giue 25000. crownes to him that should take *Crocotas* captaine of the cheeues in *Spaine* called *Bandeleros*: *Crocotas* offered himselfe to the Emperour, and demanded the money promised by him. The Emperour, for performance of his word, did not on-ly giue him the money, but his pardon also. *Sextus Pompeyus* hauing warres with *Antonius* the *Triumuir*, and meeting him vpon a treatie of peace, and there-upon inuiting of him to supper (giuing him his faith for his assurance and safety) was moued by some to deteine him prisoner: but he answered that to bee the Emperour of the world, he would not falsifie his faith. Li-



*Argus* brother to *Poledester* king of *Lacedemonia*, hauing promised fidelity to the king, refused the offer of the Queene, who being left great with child, offered to destroy it, and to make him king, if hee would marry her. But he like a faithfull brother, proclaimed her son king, so soone as he was borne, gouerning onely during his minority, chosenthereunto by the people.

*Ferdinan* brother to *Henry* the third king of *Castile*, being left tutor to the kings sonne, was vrged by the three Estates of *Castile* to take the crowne himselfe, but he refused it, saying: he would neuer be false, either to his brother dead, or his brother liuing, to whom he had promised fidelity. And as these and many mo are famous for their fidelity & performance of their word:

word: so a number are infamous by their perfidiousnesse and breach of their word. For *Plutarke* saith, that *Alexander Magnus* causing certaine Indian souldiers to be killed (after they had yeelded themselves to him vpon his word) spotted and stained the renowne of all his glorious conquests and royall vertues. *Hanniball* neuer kept his word nor faith with any, but to serue his owne turne, Therefore *Antiochus* king of *Syria* (to whom hee fled vanquished by *Scipio*) made no account of him. And hee going from thence to *Prusias* king of *Bithinea*, one as perfidious as himselfe, for that he ment to haue deliuered him to *Quintius* generall of the *Romans*, whereof *Hanniball* vnderstanding, poysoned himselfe. *Siphax* king of *Numidia*

*Numidia* by breaking his word with *Scipio*, lost his kingdome and life in captiuitie. *Ptolomeus* king of *Egypt* hauing promised safety to *Pompey*) who fled vnto him ouerthrowne by *Cesar*) notwithstanding put him to death, and sent his head to *Cesar*, which he refused to see, and wept for sorrow, and commanded them that brought it to bee put to death. Shortly after *Cesar* assisted *Cleopatra*, killed *Ptolomeus* her brother, and made her Queene of *Egypt*. *Alonſus* son to *Ferdinãdo* king of *Naples*, vnder the promise and safegard of his father, got to come to him 24. Princes and Barons, who notwithstanding his promise, put them in prison, and vpon the death of his father (being 24. yeares after) put them all to death. *Charles the seueneth king*  
of

of *France* when hee was Dol-  
phin, made *Iohn Duke of Bur-*  
*gundy* beleue that hee would  
make a peace with him: where-  
upon they met at a place ap-  
pointed: where *Charles* caused  
the duke to be presently killed.  
But *Charles* after this, wearied  
with the warres, *Phillip* sonne to  
the duke made against him. And  
of the subiection *England*  
brought *France* into by this op-  
portunity, did reconcile him-  
selfe to *Phillip*, and asked him  
forgiuenesse openly by his Em-  
balladours. *Charles* the last  
Duke of *Bourgundy*, hauing gi-  
uen safe conduct to the Earle of  
*Saint Paul*, Constable of *France*,  
tooke him prisoner and deliue-  
red him to the French king, who  
put him to death. But *Sultan*  
*Soliman* the great Turke did  
worthily punish his Brethren for  
betraying

falsifying his word, who sent into *Ralona* to passe into *Italy*, *Malina* landed at the haven of *Castro*, where the inhabitants being astonished, yeelded vnto him vpon his word and fidelity, that they should depart with bag & baggage: neuerthelesse hee slew them all, except those that were fit to serue for slaues. But hee returning to *Constantinople*, *Sultan* caused him to bee strangled for his disloyalty and perfidiousnesse, and sent backe all the prisoners with their goods into *Italy*. Thus you may see how honourable it is for one to keepe their word, and what they deserue that falsifie their faith: for a faithlesse Prince is beloued of none, but hated of all, suspected of his friends, not trusted of his enemies, and forsaken of all men in his greatest necessity.

*A Prince to be constant in his act.*

**I**T is likewise very fitting that a Prince should be constant in his act. First to advise well before he resolve, but after resolution to be constant, and not changeable, for Saint *Ambrose* writing to *Simplician*, saith: that a foole is moveable as the wind: but a wise man is not astonished by feare, nor changed by force, nor sunke by sorrow, nor proud by prosperity. The Romanes besieging *Casselin*, *Fabius* would have giue over the siege, but *Marcellus* perswaded him to the contrary, saying: that as there are many things a good captaine ought not to attempt, so ought he not to desist or giue over an enterprise once begun and taken in hand. *Bertrand de Guesclin*



*Guesclin* a Frenchman, seruing *Henry* against *Peter* king of *Spaine*, was by the Prince of *Wales* takē prisoner, & *Peter* by this victory restored to his kingdom. The Prince offered to giue *Bertrand* his liberty without ransome, so hee would serue *Henry* no more, which hee refused, because *Peter* had murthered the Queene his wife *Blanche de Burbon*, & married a *Sarazin* kings daughter, the better to strengthen himselfe, and had renounced the Catholicke faith. Then the Prince asked him whether he would go if hee were at liberty: he said, where he would soone recouer his losse, and desired the Prince to aske him no further. Well said the Prince, consider what ransome you will giue me, for I referre it to your selfe. With thankes hee said, hee would

would giue him 100000. doubles of gold. The Prince thought he mocked him offering him so much, and said hee would take the fourth part. I thanke you said *Bertrand*, & you shall haue 60000. doubles willingly. Of which the Prince accepted. The said *Bertrand*, very constantly and confidently, *Henry* may now say and brag that hee shall die king of *Spaine*, for I will crowne him, whatsoeuer it cost me. The Prince was astonished at his so haughty speeches, yet vsed him very honourably, and gaue him his liberty, whereupon hee paid his ransom, by the helpe of the king of France, and of *Henry* of *Spaine*. And after five battels, tooke *Peter* prisoner, put him to death, and made *Henry* King. The Priuer-nates warring against the Ro-

manes

manes, and not able to resist their forces, sent their Embassadours to Rome to demand peace: but because they had not obserued the treaties of peace before time, some thought it not fit to yeeld to their demand, & to conclude a peace with those that would not keepe it. Whereupon the Embassadours were asked, what punishment they had (in their iudgement) deserued for breaking the peace before. To which one of the Embassadours answered, that the Priuernates had deserued the punishment which those deserue, that thinke themselves worthy of freedome and liberty, and do hate slavery and bondage.

Some thought this answer too proud and peremptory for men ouercommied: neuertheless they were asked againe, if that they  
being

being pardoned for their former breach of peace, would from thenceforth keepe the peace granted them: to which the Embassadors answered againe very constantly, that if they gaue them a good peace, they would faithfully and perpetually keepe it: but if they gaue them an euill peace, it should not long continue. Vpon this answer diuers of the Senate were moued, but the greatest part did not condemne them for this constant and resolute answer, considering that the Embassador spake as a free man, & that every one in bondage will seeke for liberty, therefore it was concluded that the Perueruates should haue such a peace, as they should be admitted and receiued for citizens of *Rome*, & enioy the same liberty and priuilege

uilege as the city of *Rome* did. *Agiges* King of the *Cretians* about to giue battell to the *Lisao-nians*, his captaines told him that his enimies were too great in number, but he not feared therewith, nor any thing changed, said, that hee that would raigne ouer many, must fight with many. *Leonidas* likewise, sonne to *Anaxandridas*, whē his men told him fighting in battell, that the arrowes of his enemies were so many as they couered the Sun, was not dismaid thereby, but constatly conntinuing his fight, said, then shall wee fight vnder their shadow. And the great Prince *Bias*, falling by chance in the danger of his enemies the *Athenians*, and being asked of his captaines what they should do, hee seeing their feare and inconstancy) was not moued, but answered

answered, that they should report to the living that hee died fighting, and he would report to the dead, that they went away flying. *Scipio*, though he got the victory against *Antiochus*: yet was hee not changed, but gave him the same condition of peace hee had offered him before the victory. *Spurius Servilius* Consull, being accused before the people for the same matter, for which they had condemned *Menenius* his fellow Consull (who through griefe thereupon died) was of that constancy, & courage, as hee freed himselfe, and condemned the people for their proceeding against *Mene-  
nius*. *Perses* King of *Macedo-  
nia*, who overthrowne by *Pau-  
lus Emilius* the *Romane* captaine, was brought before him prisoner. *Emilius* did rise out of his  
state



seate, to receiue and honour him as a great Prince false into that misery by the hazard of fortune. But *Perfes*, not constant in magnanimity, cast himselfe at his feet vpon the ground, vsing such base and abiect requests vnseeming for a king, as *Emilius* said to him. Alas poore man, thou dischargest fortune, and chargest thy selfe, vnworthy of that honour thou hast had before, being so base minded, which hath made thee an vnworthy aduersary of the *Romanes*. But *Cressus* King of the *Lydians* being to be put to death by *Cyrus*, shewed such constancy and resolution (remembering *Solon*) as *Cyrus* forgave him: restored him, and made him one of his chietest counsellours. And *Pelopidas* prisoner in the hands of *Alexander* King of the *Pho-*  
*cians*

*reans*, sent him word that he marvelled why hee put his citizens to death and not him, knowing that if he got loose he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant wondering at his great constancy, asked why he made such hast to die. To the end (said he) that thou being yet more hated of God and man, then thou art, may the sooner bee destroyed. *Leena* priuie to the conspiracy of *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton* with others against the tyrant of *Athens*, would neuer confesse nor accuse any, but bit of her tongue, and spit it in the tyrants face. In metnory of which constancy, and secrecy, they erected a Lyonesse of brasse without a tongue, at the entry of the Castel. *Zeno* likewise discovered for conspiring the death of *Diomedes* the tyrant, accused the tyrants best

best friends to make him more afraid, and faining to tell him some thing of them in his care, he bit off his nose. Then being beaten in a mortar, to make him confesse, hee bit off his owne tongue (with a singular constancie) because hee should accuse no body. *Anaxagoras* the Philosopher did the like. A Prince therefore should bee constant, and prepared for all fortunes. For *Seneca* saith, that as a cunning workman can fashion ~~an~~ an Image of any kinde of matter: so a wise man should bee constant, and take in good part all kinde of fortune: For (saith he) as fire trieth gold, so doth aduersity and crosse fortune, a man of valour.

**C**

**CHAP.**

**I**T is necessary that a Prince should vse great secrecie in all his actions: for *Valerius* saith, that secrecie is the best and surest bond, for by it great matters may be wrought, and without it Princes designements easily crossed. Therefore the French man hath a proverbe, saying: *Que ta chemise ne sache ta guyse.* Let not thy shirt know thy secret. *Peter* King of Arragon being asked what hee would doe with a great Nauy hee had prepared, (with which afterward hee recouered Sicylie from the French) said, that if he thought his shirt did know it, hee would burne it. *Hannibal* flying from *Neron*, *Neron* left his army neere vnto him, and went himselfe secretly

cretly with a reasonable force to  
ioyne with *Linus* against *Ad-  
drubal*, whose army they ouer-  
threwe, killed him, and 56000.  
of his men, and tooke prisoners  
5400. Which done, *Neron* was  
returned to his campe againe,  
before hee was knowne to bee  
absent. At another time the *Ro-  
manes* vsed such secrecie, as King  
*Eumenes* demanding of them  
aide against King *Persens*, it was  
neuer known what was deman-  
ded, nor what was answered, be-  
fore the warre was ended which  
the *Romans* made at his request.  
The Kings of Persia punished  
to death those that discovered  
any thing determined vpon in  
councell. And in Darian, a place  
in the *Indiās*, they wil neuer dis-  
couer any secret, especially the  
spies, for what torment soeuer.  
Both *Leena* and *Zeno* before

mentioned, were greatly commended for their secrecie, as well as for their constancy. *Alexander Magnus* reading a letter of great secrecie, one *Ephestion* being in principall fauour with him, presumed to look on, and to reade it also. *Alexander* would not debarre him, but the letter being read, tooke his ring, and with it sealed *Ephestions* mouth, saying, that hee who would charge himselfe with another mans secreete, ought to haue his mouth close, and sealed. King *Lisimachus* greatly fauouring *Philipides*, bid him aske what he would, and it should be granted him. *Philipides* said, I will accept of any fauour you will bestow of me, so you commit not your secret to me: thinking it fittest for a King to keep his secret to himselfe, and the safest



safest for another not to know it. So had it bene happy for *Fulvio* if he had neuer knowne the Emperours secrets, for the Emperour *Octavian* committing a secret to him, he discovered it to his wife, whereof the Emperour getting notice, was offended with him. *Fulvio* vnderstanding thereof, and in despaire of the Emperours fauour, told his wife that he would kill himselfe. You haue reason, said she, seeing in so many yeares you haue not knowne my imperfection, or if you did know it, to trust it: but though the fault be yours, yet will I bee first punished, and so killed her selfe: then *Fulvio* did the like. The Poets feigned *Tantalus* to bee in hell, hauing about him water, and the fruits he desired to eate, which as hee offered to take, fled from him

alwaies: and this was his punishment for reuealing that which was by the gods determined in counsell. They feigned likewise *Sisiphus* to bee in like sort punished in hell, for the same offence, carrying a stone vpon his shoulders vp a hill, and coming to the toppe, the stone alwaies falleth from him downe againe, which he returneth to fetch, and so neuer resteth. Therefore *Seneca* saith, that a counsellour ought to speake much to himselfe, but little to others, for feare of discovering any secret.

So that secrecy is most requisite both in a Prince, and in his Councellours.

## CHAP. 7.

*A Prince to be liberall.*

**L**iberality is also necessary and most commendable in a Prince, for it is the bond to oblige al men to him, both friends and foes: for which vertue the Emperour *Titus* was most commended, who laboured by liberality to deface the report against his father for his couetousnesse, and alwaies said, that a man ought not to go away sad from the face of a Prince, And remembering one night that hee had shewed no liberality that day towards any, sighed, saying: my friends I have lost this day. *Nabuchodonosor* kept bookes wherein hee commanded to bee written the seruice which euery one did him, to the end he might

reward them. *Alexander Magnus* going to the conquest of *Asia*, gaue most of his liuing & kingdome to his captaines, reseruing hope to himselfe. And he being in *Ægypt*, a poore man asked him something towards the marriage of his daughters. *Alexander* gaue him a citiy verry populous & rich. Sir, said the poore man, you mistakeme, or vnderstand me not. No, said *Alexander*, but know, though thou be poore *Biantius* in asking, that I am *Alexander* in giuing. *Julius Cesar* before the ciuil warre, was so liberall to get fauour and loue of the people, as he grew thereby 750000. crownes in debt. *Cato*, for all the townes hee won in Spaine, did neuer take any thing for himselfe, but gaue all amongst his souldiers, saying: that a captaine ought

ought not to seeke for any thing in his charge, but honour and glory. *Scipio Africanus* was so liberal, as he contemned riches, for in 54. yeares that he lived, he did neuer buy nor sell any thing, nor made any building, neither was there found in his house after his death, aboue 33. pound weight of plate. *Marcus Curius* Confull, who had thrice triumphed, was of the like disposition, for all the possessions hee had was but a little meane house in the country, where he lived for the most part, when publicke affaires did permit him, labouring and tylling that little ground he had, himselfe. And when certaine Embassadours were sent to visite him, they found him dressing a radish for his supper. And they presenting him a great

summe of money from the Commonalty, he refused it, saying: he held it farre more honourable to command the that had gold, then to haue it himselfe. *Lucius Quintius* did the like, for after he had bene Dictator, & triumphed with greater pompe then euer did any before him, yet returned hee to his poore house againe, refusing all liuing and riches the Senate offered him. For riches and treasure is but a clog and a heauy burthen to a wise man: which made all the Philosophers to contemne wealth. For *Plato* saith, hee that honoureth riches, despiseth wisdom. *Policrates* bestowed fiftie talents for a gift vpon one *Anacreon*, who for two nights after, was so troubled with care how to keep them, and how to bestow them, as he carried them backe againe  
to



to *Policrates*, saying: they were not worth the paines which hee had already taken for them. Therefore a Prince should not care how to lay vp, but how to lay out with honour and wisdom. For the liberall person shall haue plenty, saith *Salomon*, *Prov*, II.

## CHAP. 8.

*A Prince not to bee couetous.*

**A**nd as by liberality a Prince may attaine to great honour: so by couetousnesse hee may bring himselfe to viter destruction. For the Emperour *Pertinax* was a very good and vertuous Prince, sauing that hee was extreme couetous and miserable: infomuch that whereas hee should haue rewarded the men of warre who did aduance him

him to the Empire, hee tooke pensions from diuers of them, which *Traian* his predeceffour had giuen them, for which, and for his miserablenesse, hee was killed by his souldiers. So was likewise *Alexander Seuerus* and his mother also, for the same vice. As in like manner were the Emperour *Galba*, and the Emperour *Mauricius*. And the Emperour *Phocas* by his misery was the ruine and dissipating of the Romane Empire, for in his time there fell from the Empire, *France*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, the greatest part of *Italy*, *Esclauonia*, the greatest part of *Affrica*, *Armenia*, *Arabia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Affiria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, and many other countries. *Lewis* the 11. king of *Franks* was so miserable, as he was contemned of all strangers, and caused rebellion

bellion in his owne country, for he put away almost all the Gentlemen of his household, and vfed his taylor for his herald of armes, his barber for his Embassadour, and his Physition for his Chancellour, and in derision of other Kings, he wore a greasy hat of the coursest wooll, & in his chamber of accompts, in a bill was set downe 20 sous for a paire of sleeues to his old doublet, and 15. deniers for grease to his bootes. Hee increased the charge vpon his subiects, three millions more then any of his predecessours had done: For which hee was mightely hated. *Calipha* king of *Persia* hauing filled a tower with siluer, gold, iewels, & precious stones, and being in warre with *Alanus* King of the *Tartarians*, was so euill succored by his owne

## CHAP. 9.

*Principles for*

owne people, because he was so miserable, and would not giue them their pay, as hee was taken in his owne citty, and by *Alanus* committed to prison, in the foresaid tower, who said vnto him: if thou haddest not kept this treasure so couetously, but hadst distributed it amongst thy souldiers, thou mightest haue preserved thy selfe, and thy citty: now therefore enioy it at thine ease, and eate and drinke thy fill, seeing thou hast loued it so well. And so let him die in the midst of his riches.

## CHAP. 9.

*A Prince to be learned.*

**T**Hough it bee not good that a Prince should be too great a scholler, yet it is necessary that he should haue some learning:  
for

for *Plato* saith, that neither can ignorant men, nor those that spend all their life in study, gouerne a common wealth. For great learned men are perplexed to resolute vpon affaires, making many doubts full of respects and imaginations. The citty therefore of *Noremburg* did not admit any great learned man into their Counsell, but had some notable learned men, with whom they did conferre vpon any doubt that might arise in the Counsell. The *Vrsins* likewise in *Italy*, would neuer permit any learned man to gouerne their common wealth. Yet *Socrates* saith, that wit without learning, is like to a tree without fruit. It is requisite therefore, that both the Prince, and his gouernours should be learned, as well the better to vnderstand their

their duties towards God, the lawes of the Realm, the gouernment of other common wealths, and their Embassadours, and the Art of Stratagemes of war. And a Prince should nourish & cherish all learning, for the attaining to all Arts and knowledge. And to that end *Ptolomæus* King of Egypt made a most famous library in *Alexandria* of 200000. volumes.

## CHAP. IO.

*A Prince to be Religious.*

**B** V T Aboue all things religion is most requisite in a Prince, that hee bee carefull to serue daily the King of Kings, who will prosper him on his kingdome in earth, so he seekes the kingdome of heauen, which he must first seeke for, as appeareth



reth, *Mat. 6.* And in *Deut. 17.* a King is commanded, after he be placed in his kingdome, to read the *Deuteronomy*, that hee may learne to feare God, and to keep his words & ceremonies which are written in the law, so doing a Prince shall prosper, for *Salomon* saith, *God preserveth the state of the righteous, and is a shield to them that walke uprightly, Prou. cha. 2.* Trust therefore, (saith he againe, *Prou. cha. 3.*) in God with all thine heart, and leane not to thy owne wisdom. So *Iacob, Moses, Hezekiah* and *Elizeus* did not trust in themselves, but onely by their prayers and trust in God prevailed against their enemies And King *Dauid* though he laboured by humane diligence to defend himselfe against *Absolon*, yet especially sought to moue God to mercy by

by prayer. 2. Reg. 15. The Em-  
prou *Marcus Antonius* being in  
Almany with his army, was in-  
closed in a dry country by his e-  
nemies, who stopped all the  
passages, that hee and his army  
were like to perish for want of  
water. The Emperours Lieu-  
tenant seeing him so distressed,  
told him, that he had heard, that  
the Christians could obtaine a-  
ny thing of their God by their  
prayers, Whereupon the Em-  
perour, having a legion of  
Christians in his army, desired  
them to pray to their God for  
his and the armies deliuey out  
of that danger. Which they  
presently did, and incontinent a  
great thunder fell amongst the  
enemies, & abundance of wa-  
ter vpon the Romanes, whereby  
their thirst was quenched, and  
the enemies ouerthrowne with-  
out

out any fight. But prayer will not auaille euery Christian, vnlesse hee walke vptightly, for God wil not heare the prayers of those that lye & wallow in sin, as appeareth *Io. 9.* And *Dauid* saith, *Psal. 65.* *If I finde iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not heare me.* And God saith, when you shall extend and lift vp your hands, I will turne mine eyes from you, and when you shall multiplie your prayers, I will not heare, for your hands are ful of bloud, *Isaias, cha. 1.* Therefore if a man bee in wicked or bloody sin, his prayer is in vaine,

## CHAP. II.

*A Prince not to shed innocent bloud.*

**I**T behoueth therfore a Prince to be vertuous, and to haue spe-

speciall care that hee put not his hand in innocent bloud, neither by tyranny, malice, ambition, pollicy, or vpon false reports and informations, for to be a tyrant is odious to God & man, and to bring himselfe to an euill end. As the Emperour *Nero*, who after he had put to death his mother *Agrippina*, his wife *Octavia*, his brother *Brittannicus* and his maister *Seneca*, besides many others, being proclaimed an enemy to the cōmon wealth, could get no body to kill him, but was glad to kill himselfe, saying, *Turpiter vixi, et turpius morior*. The Emperour *Caius Caligula*, amongst other his tyrannies, caused at his dinner and supper ordinarily one to cut off before him the heads of poore prisoners, wherein hee tooke great pleasure: in the end he himselfe

selfe was killed by his men, who conspired against him. *Nabis* the tyrant, who vsurped the gouernment of the *Lacedemonians*, sent for 80. of their yong Princes, and without any cause put them all to death. And shortly after *Alexamenes*, vnder pretence to serue him, with some company, sodenly strike him of from his horse, and killed him. And as these tyrants had their iust reward, so all others had the like measure: And for their wicked instruments, the people oftentimes did iustice vpon thē. For *Plutarke* writeth, that the wicked Counsellors and instruments of *Apollodus*, of *Phalaris*, *Dionisius*, *Nero*, and other tyrants, were cruelly tormented to death by the people, and iustly, saith he, because they who corrupt or seduce a Prince, deserue

serue as much to bee abhorred of euery one, as those who should poyson a publick spring or fountaine, whereof all the people doe drinke. But sometimes those Princes that vse instruments for their murthers, will not auow their commission, but doe themselves many times put them to death whom they imploied therein, sometimes secretly, sometimes publicly, either to rid themselves of the suspicion and infamy thereof, or for feare of discovery. As *Alexander Magnus* at his fathers funerals commanded publicke iustice to bee done vpon those, whō himsele had secretly imploied to kil him: the Emperour *Tiberius* did not onely dissaue his commission giuen to a soldier to kill *Agrippa*, but put to death *Seianus* his speciall fauourite



rite and instrument of his mischiefe. *Cesar Borgia* did the like by a fauourite of his. And let no Prince thinke that hee can so contriue his matters, but in the end truth will be discouered and knowne to the world: and through ambition many haue shewed theselus very barbarous & bloody, as *Tullia* daughter to *Seruius*, seeing herselfe married to *Aruns*, a man of milde disposition, and her sister of a gentle spirit, married to *Lucius Tarquinius*, who was ambitious, and she not enduring to bee thus matched, killed her husband *Aruns*, and her sister, and then married *Tarquinius*, whō she perswaded to kil her father *Seruius*, to haue the kingdome, and shee being in the streets when he was killed, went with her coach very inhumanely, ouer his body, that his bloud

bloud besprinkled her clothes. *Soliman* King of the Turks, whē hee heard the great noise and shout of ioy his army made for the returne of his sonne *Sultan Mustapha* out of *Persia*, caused him presently to be strangled in his outward chamber, and his dead body to be cast out before the whole army, and one to cry with a loud voyce, that there was but one God, and one *Sultan* vpon the earth. Hee put to death also *Sultan Soba*, because he wept for his brother, and *Sultan Mahomet* his third sonne, because he fled for feare, leauing one onely aliue to auoid the incōuenience of many Lords. The Emperour *Seuerus* hauing vanquished *Albinus* & *Niger* his competitor in the Empire, embrued with blod, put a great number to death, & told sonne *Geta*, that hee would

his

not leaue him an enemy. *Geta* asked him, if those he put to death, had neither parents, friends, nor kinsfolke, yes said the Emperour a great number. Then said *Geta*, you will leaue vs many mo enemies then you take from vs. His sonne *Bassianus* hauing murthered his brother *Geta* to haue the Empire alone, and doubting that the Senate would greatly mislike thereof, made a shew that hee was sory for his brothers death, and that hee did it by the perswasion of *Letus* his fauourite, whom therefore he put to death, and all those that did assist him in that action, likewise all those that were friends to *Geta*, least they should attempt any thing against him, yet in the end hee was killed. *Alfonsus* King of *Naples*, hauing vniustly  
D murdered

murthered 24. of his Barons, could neuer sleepe quietly for representation of their shapes, which alwaies vexed him in his dreames. And in the end he fell into that feare of the French, as leauing his kingdome to his sonne, he fled into *Spaine*, to liue in a Monastery, making such hast as hee would take nothing with him. And his men perswading him to stay two or three daies, to make his prouision: no, no, said he, let vs be gone, doe you not heare how al the world cries France, France? Hee knew himselfe to bee so hated. King *John* of *England* murthered his nephew, and in the end was murthered himselfe. *Richard* likewise Duke of *Glocester* murthered his two nephews, sonnes to *Edward* the 4. to make himselfe King, and after was slaine in battell

tell by Henry the 7. for bloud  
requires bloud, and let a blou-  
dy Prince neuer looke for bet-  
ter end.

## CHAP. 12.

*A Prince to be circumspect in gi-  
uing credit to reports.*

**B**Vt many Princes haue bene  
mightily abused by false  
reports & wrong informations,  
yea sometimes by the nearest  
and dearest vnto them, and those  
that should bee most faithfull.  
*David* therefore prayed God to  
deliuer him from wicked lips,  
and a lying tongue. *Psal.* 119.  
And in *Eccle.* 31. we are warned  
to take heede of our children,  
and of our household seruants,  
And in the 6. chapter it is said,  
*Separate thy selfe from thine ene-  
mies, & beware euen of thy friends:*

for where a man doth trust the most, there he may soonest be deceived: As was the Emperour *Claudius* a tymorous man, and governed most by his wife *Messaline*, and by one *Narciscus*, who of a slaue he had made free, and had familiar credit with *Messaline*. This Empresse became enamoured of a yong Gentleman a *Romane*, of a noble house, called *Appius Sillanus*, and seeing that by no meanes shee could draw him to satisfie her wanton desires, she practised with *Narcissus*, that they both early one morning should come to the Emperour and tell him they dreamed that *Sillanus* went about to kill him, which they did one after the other, and *Messaline* had giuen commandant that *Sillanus* at that instant should come to speake with



with the Emperour. Whereup-  
on *Sillanus* innocently came, and  
knocked at the Emperours  
chamber doore: which the Em-  
perour vnderstanding, and per-  
swaded by them that their  
dreames were true, and that hee  
came then to kill him, comman-  
ded *Sillanus* to bee presently put  
to death, which was done. *Salome* sister to *Herod* King of *Iu-  
ry* perswaded him that the  
Queene his wife sought to poy-  
son him, and brought certaine  
false witnessles to confirme her  
report, to which the king giuing  
credit, put his Queene to death.  
But this wicked sister not satis-  
fied with this, fearing that the  
Kings two sons would reuenge  
their mothers death, perswaded  
the King that they were practi-  
sing how to kill him, for putting  
their mother to death. The king,

fearing the authority of the Emperour, if he should put them to death, brought them before *Augustus Caesar*, who knowing their innocency by their weeping, and great lamentation, exhorted them to bee dutifull to their father, and their father to make much of them, and so dismissed them, but the Kings sister inuented new matter against them, and perswaded her brother to send the Emperour word thereof, which he did: then the Emperour gaue him authority to punish them as hee thought good, whereupon the King put the both to death. But after vnderstanding the truth, and that *Antipater* his sonne by an other wife, practised all this with his sister, hee put him to death, and within few daies after died himselfe, his intrailles being inflamed,

med, and thereby his bowels rotted, raging at these accidents. *Phillip* King of *Macedonia* put to death his own son *Demetrius*, vpon the false report and accusation of *Perfius* his base sonne, and after vnderstanding how he was abused, died raging. *Adelftan* first Monarch of *England* after the entry of the *Saxons*, through the false report of his fauourite, put his owne brother to death. *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* put his brother *Giles* to death, vpon the false report of those that were messengers betwixt them, and after he vnderstanding the truth, put them to death also. Therefore as in 1. *Io.* 4. it is said. *Bele eue not euery spirit, but proue the spirits whether they be of God, or not:* So a Prince should duely and throughly examine euery re-

port whether it bee true or not, before he giue credit thereunto: and especially if it concerne life: for innocent blood doth cry to God for reuenge, as appeareth in the *Apoc.* 6. saying: *How long Lord holy, and iust, indigest thou not, and reuengest thou not our blood on them that dwell upon the earth.* And *Salomon* saith, that the hands which shedde innocent blood, are most odious in the sight of God. *Prou.* cha. 4. Likewise *David* affirmeth, *Pf.* 65. that God doth abhorre a bloody man. Therefore *Iuuenall* saith, that euery slay which is made to giue life to man is good. And hee that doth vse to examine a report made vnto him, that toucheth a mans reputation, shall free himselfe from lyars, for a lye cannot abide examination.

## CHAP. 13.

*A Prince to be mercifull.*

**A** Prince therefore should incline himselfe to mercy, and pardon iniuries, and auoide the vices which may draw him to bloud, which chiefly are ambition, pride, choler, & subiection to a woman. *Seneca* saith, that forgiuenesse is a valiant kind of reuenge. And the more powerfull a man is, the more is his honour to forgiue. And *Pittacus* the Philosopher doth affirme that pardon is better thē reuenge: the one (saith he) being proper to the spirit, the other to a cruel beast. Therefore *Alexander Magnus* said, that a man wronged, had neede of a more noble heart to forgiue, then to reuenge. And *Cicero* did more

D 5 commend

commend *Cesar*, for ouercoming his owne courage in pardoning *Marcellus*, then for the great victories against his enemies. The Emperour *Adrian* attaining to the Empire, forgot and put away all the enemies he had before. Insomuch that after he was Emperour, meeting one of his enemies, would not touch him, but said to him, thou art escaped. *Augustus Caesar* hauing many enemies, by reason of the ciuill warre, did not onely pardon them, but aduanced them to dignities and offices: and thereby wonne their loue, and made them faithfull. *Hamilcar* hauing onerthrowne *Splendins* generall of the mutiners against *Carthage*, pardoned the prisoners, and offered them seruice, or liberty to returne to their country, which got him great honour



honour, and loue of many of his enemies. *Scipio Africanus* set at liberty all the Ostages hee found in new *Carthage*, after hee had won it by assault, saying, he had rather bind men to him by good deeds then by feare. And amongst the Ostages there was a maruellous beautifull yong Lady, who was contract to *Al-lucius* Prince of the *Celtiberians*: *Scipio* commanded them both to bee brought before him, and her parents came with great treasure to redeeme her by ran-some. But *Scipio* said to *Allucius*: my friend, vnderstanding of the lour betwixt this Lady & you, I haue kept her for you, not tou-ched in honour, and for recom-pence of this fauour, I pray you be a friend to the *Romans*. Her parents then presented *Scipio* with great treasure, which  
through

through much importunity hee was content to take, but bestowed it presently vpon *Allucius*, who not long after came to serue *Scipio* with 1400. horse. *Scipio* likewise by pardoning *Massima*, his vncle *Massinissa* became and continued a friend to the *Romans*. So that mercy bringeth friendship, and cruelty hatred.

## CHAP. I4.

*A Prince not to be proud.*

**P**Ride was the fall of *Lucifer*, the ouerthrowe of *Babylon*, and the ruine of many a Prince, for *nemo superbus amat superos, nec amatur ab illis*. A proud man loueth not the gods, nor is beloved of them. Pride produceth sometimes cruelty, but alwaies shame, for *Salomon* saith, *when pride cometh, then cometh shame, but with the humble is wisdom*,  
Prou.

Prou. II. Therefore God resisteth the proud and giueth grace to the humble, Iam. 3. Allades King of the Latines contemning the gods, deuised how to make a noise like thunder & lightning, to make the people feare him as a god: but thunder & lightening falling vpon his house from heauen, and a lake ioyning vpon his house overflowing extraordinarily, he and his family were all swallowed vp. *Julius Caesar* after hee was Emperour grew so proud, as was therefore killed by the Senators in the Senate. And the Emperour *Domitian* was so proud, as that hee commanded in all his proclamations and publicke speeches these words to bee vsed. Be it knowne vnto you from your god and maister, for which hee was hated of all the world, and  
in

in the end killed. The Emperour *Gaius* set in his palace like *Iupiter*, with a Scepter in one hand, and a thunder bolte in the other, and an eagle at his side, a cobbler seeing him, fel on a great laughter. The Emperour commanded him to bee brought before him, and asked him at what he laughed. I laugh, said he, to see thy pride and folly. The Emperour laughed also at his answer, and punished him not, but delighted in his owne pride. But *Phillip* father to *Alexander Magnus* to auoide that vice, caused a child to cry vnto him euery day at his chamber dore before hee went forth, *Phillip*, thou art a man mortall. *Hieronimus* King of *Cicily* being very yong, was wholly counselled by his brother in law *Andronodorus*, who made him proud and arrogant,  
and

and to contemne euery one, and to giue audience to none, nor to suffer almost any to haue accessle vnto him, but to giue himselfe to all kind of voluptuousnesse, and to bee cruell and bloody. *Andronodorus* hauing brought him to this, conspired with others against him. The treason discovered, and one *Theodorus* called in question therefore, confessed that he was of the conspiracy, and being vpon the torture, knowing hee must die, accused (to be reuenged of the King) the Kings most faithfull friends and seruants. To which the King giuing credit, put them all to death, and immediately after was killed by the conspirators: *Andronodorus* presently seised vpon *Siracusa*, thinking to make himselfe King. But he had such  
successe

success therein, as he, his wife, and all his familie, and all the line of the King, were quite extirped as well innocents, as offenders. *Timothe* a Captaine of *Athens*, through his pride did attribute all his victories onely to his owne pollicy and wisdom. Whereupon (saith *Plutarke*) the gods were angry at his foolish ambition, and did neuer prosper him after, but that all things went against him, and in the end he was so hated, that hee was banished *Athens*. *Cresus* being in the hieght of his pride, most sumptuously set in his throne, asked *Solon* if euer he had seene a more gorgeous and glorious sight, yea said *Solon*, both Capons, Fesants, and Peacocks, for their colours are naturall. *Menecrates* a Phisition, because hee was excellent  
in



in his Arte, grew so proude, as he caused himselfe to bee called *Iupiter*. But *Phillipp* King of *Macedonia*, to make him know himselfe, inuited him to a banquet, and made a table to bee provided for him by himselfe, which *Menecrates* seeing, was very ioyfull that it pleased the King to doe him that honour, but when he see that in stead of meate, they brought him nothing but incense, he was ashamed, and departed with great anger. Yet this King grew a little proud after his conquest, in somuch, that hee writte a sharpe letter to *Archidamas*, sonne to *Agessilaus*, who answered him, saying: if thou measure thy shadow, thou shalt not finde it to bee growne greater since thou didst ouercome. Pride therefore cannot make a man great, but odious.

## CHAP. I 5.

*A Prince to be humble.*

**C**Hrist did humble himselfe  
for vs: therefore wee ought  
to humble our selues for Christ,  
who saith, *Hee that doth humble  
himselfe shall be exalted, but hee  
that doth exalt himselfe shall bee  
humbled. Math. 23.* Humility  
therefore (affirmeth Seneca) is  
the handmaiden of wisdom.  
For a wise man is humble, and if  
he be not humble, he is not wise.  
*Carolus Magnus* to haue euer  
before his eyes the image of po-  
uerty and humility, did cause  
certaine very poore men to eate  
alwaies in his presence their  
meate vpon the ground, The  
*Romanes* had a custome that the  
Emperour after a victory was  
drawne in a Chariot with foure  
horses

horses to the Capitoll, and a clowne set besides him in the Chariot, who stricke him euery foote in the necke, saying: *Know thy selfe*. And when the Emperour was crowned, one alwaies came to him, and asked him, of what kind of mettall, or stone he would haue his tombe made. And all this to the end the Emperour should be humble. The Emperour *Constantinus magnus*, was of that humility, as hee excelled all other Emperours and Princes whatsoeuer: Yet of that valour as hee subdued *Licinius* his competitor and many Pagan nations. The Emperour *Theodosius* being rebuked by S. *Ambrose* for a great offence, did in such humility acknowledge his fault, as hee did open pennance therefore, willingly in the Church, where Saint *Ambrose*

*brose* was ministering the Sacrament, and so was admitted to communicate. The Emperours *Valentinian* and *Iustinian* were Princes of great humility, yet famous for their many victories. The Emperour *Alexander Severus* was of that humility, as hee would not suffer any to use other salutations to him, then to say, God saue thee *Alexander*. *Scipio* preuailing in *Spaine* against *Asdruball*, the Spaniards called him King, which title hee refused, saying: it was sufficient for him to be called their Generall *Agathocles* King of *Cicily* because he was but a poore potters sonne, caused himselfe to be served with vessels of earth, amongst his vessels of gold, and silver, to shew his humility, and what he was. *Iulius Caesar*, *Augustus Caesar*, *Claudius*, *Domitian*,  
*Galba*,

Galba, Traian, Alexander, and many other Princes were of that humility as they gaue continually audience themselves to the people, to the great content & comfort of the people, And Oclavius Cesar did sit daily in iudgement himselfe, and did abhorre the title of Lord, inso-much that when one said to him, O good and gracious Lord, hee reprov'd him sharply therefore. And the more humble that a man is, the more is hee in the favour of God, who as Saint James saith, cha. 3. doth resist the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.

## CHAP. 16,

*A Prince not to exceed in anger.*

**A**Nd a Prince to be too passionate and too cholericke  
is

is dangerous, for choller sometimes burneth and dryeth vp the veines, and taketh life, sometimes it blindeth the vnderstanding, and taketh away sense & reason, whereby many a time sodaine mischiefe is done, that bringeth long and too late repentance, for the minde doth not easily see the truth (saith *Sa-lust*) where passion and affection beareth sway. Therefore a Prince especially should learne to know himselfe, and his imperfections, for *Plato* saith, that the perfect duty of a man, is first to know himselfe. And the first precept that was written in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, was, *Know thy selfe*. And knowing himselfe, hee must then labour to command himselfe, and make reason rule nature. *Ag-silans* did more glory that hee could



could command himselfe, then  
in that he was a King. For he that  
is slow to anger (saith Salomon) is  
better then the mighty man: and he  
that ruleth his owne minde, is bet-  
ter then he that winneth a citty,  
Prou. 16. Yet moderate ire (saith  
Plutarke) doth second valour  
and fortitude. To auoide chol-  
ler, *Athenodorus* the Philosopher  
counseiled *Augustus Caesar* ne-  
uer to do or say any thing when  
he was angry, before he had re-  
peated the 24. letters of the A  
B C, thinking by that time his  
choller would be appeased. *Vir-  
ginius* being chosen generall of  
the Romane hoste, refused it,  
fearing to exceed in choller a-  
gainst *Appius Claudius* his ene-  
my. *Crotis* King of *Thracia* ha-  
ving a presēt brought vnto him  
of many faire vessels of glasse  
most curiously wrought, after  
he

he had wel recompēsed the gift, did breake them all himselfe of purpose, fearing least through choller, (to which he was subiect) hee should too seuerly punish any of his seruants, if they by chance should breake any of them. But the Emperour *Vas-  
lentinian* was so ouercharged with choller, that hee fell into such a rage against certaine Embassadours, as hee lost his voyce and speech, and so was carried to his bed, and letten bloud, but bled not, choller hauing burned and dried vp the veines, and so died. Patience therefore is a happy vertue, by which a man may preserue his body, and possesse his soule, saith Christ *Luke 21. In your patience you shall possesse your soules.* And to attaine to this vertue *Diogenes* asked almes of the Images in *Athens*, to make him

him take deniall patiently. *Aristotle* being told that one rayled vpon him, was not moued, but said, when I am absent, let him beate me also. And *Socrates* being abused, spurned, and kicked by an insolent fellow, and seeing his friends offended therewith, said: How now my maisters, if an Asse had kicked and giuen me a rap on the shinnes, would you haue me to yerke out, and to kicke him againe? *Antigonus* hearing his souldiers reuile him behind his pauillion, said to them, you knaues could you not go a little further off when you meant to raile vpon mee? One *Nicanor* rayled vpon *Phillipp* King of *Macedonia*, for which, his Counsell would haue had him seuerely punished, but the King very patiently answered, first let vs see whether the fault

E

be

be in him or in vs. And vnderstanding that *Nicanor* had deserved well, and that hee had neuer giuen him any thing, sent him a rich gift. After which *Nicanor* spoke very much good of the King, Whereupon the King said to his Counsell, I see well that I am a better Physicion for backebiting then you are: and that it is in my power to cause either good or euil to be spoken of me.

## CHAP. 17.

*A Prince to bee moderate in his diet.*

**N**ATURE is content with a little, therefore if a man do eat or drinke more then sufficeth nature, it is superfluous, & ingendreth euill humors, corrupteth the body, and weakeneth the spirits and vnderstanding

ding, for *Diogenes* saith, that the wit is made dull with grosse and immoderate feeding. And *Plato* affirmeth, that those who vse to eate much, although they haue a good wit, yet cannot bee wise. The reason is, saith *Plutarke*, because the body being full of meate, corrupteth the iudgement in such sort, as maketh a man neither fit to giue counsell, nor to gouerne in a common wealth, nor to do any good worke. The Emperour *Octavius Caesar* had therefore ordinarily at supper but three dishes of meate, and when hee fared best he had but sixe. And the Egyptians in the midst of their feasts and banquets had a dead body dried, brought in amongst them, that the sight thereof might containe them in modesty, and make them tem-

perate in their feeding. *Ada* Queene of *Caria*, sent *Alexander Magnus* certaine skilful cookes, whom hee refused, and sent her word that hee had better then they were, namely, for his dinner, early rising, and walking a good while before day, and for his supper a little dinner, for in those daies they did commonly eat but one meale a day, as appeareth by *Plato*, who being demanded if hee had scene any new or strange thing in *Cicily*, said, that hee had found there a monster of nature, which did eat twice a day, meaning *Dionisius* the tyrant. *Agessilaus* king of the *Lacedemonians*, passing his army through the country of *Thracia*, they presented him with meale, fowle, baked meats, and all other sorts of delicate meates, and conserues. The  
meale



meale he was willing to take, but not the rest, yet through great intreaty he accepted of all, and gaue all (sauiing the meale) to his slaues, & being asked why he did so, he said, it is not conuenient for men who make profession of manhoode and prowesse to eate such delicates, for by pleasure, delicate meates, and drinckes, the courage of a man is abated. Therefore *Xerxes*, after hee had taken the great citie of *Babylon*, would not put the people to death, but to be reuenged of them, commanded them not to exercise any armes, but to vse and giue themselves to all pleasure, feasting, and drinking. So that by this meanes they grew to be most vile and base people, whereas before they were most valiant. And by the great feasting and drunkenesse in *Siracusa*

*cusa* in *Cicily*, the *Romanes* tooke the towne and spoyled it. The Emperour *Vitellius* was very riotous in his diet, insomuch as at one supper hee had 2000. severall kind of fishes, and 7000. dishes of foule, but what followed? Soone after hee was openly put to death by *Vespasian*. *Caligula* likewise in riotous banquets, in making sweete bathes, and in other vaine and friuolous expences, spent in one yeare 67. millions of crownes, and in the end was killed. *Nero* also was prodigall in the like charges and bankets, and sumptuous attire, neuer wearing one garment twice. And *Sabina* his wife had daily the milke of 500 Asles to bath her in, but their ends were pittifull. The Emperour *Arrianus* was riotous in his youth, and thereby diseased in his

his age, which forced him to vse many Physitions and medicines, but could not be cured. Therefore good order and temperate diet, prolongeth the life and preserueth wise dome. Early ryding also (saith *Plato*) and much watching are profitable to keep a man in health, and to augment his wise dome. It doth withall increase deuotion, for then a man shall find himselfe most apt to serue God.

## CHAP. 18.

*A Prince to bee continent of life.*

**B**UT if hee serue his belly with immoderate and too great delicates, and pamper his flesh too much, it will (besides dulling of the wit) make the flesh rebell against the spirit, and fall to incontinency, a vice

whereof a Prince ought to haue a speciall care, that hee giue not himselfe to the lust of the flesh, for it is a deuouring fire till all be consumed, and rooting vp the seed of good workes, saith Iob 31. And *Luxuria enervat vires, effeminat artus*. It will make him weake and effeminate, and destroyeth both body and soule, loosening thereby also sometimes both life and kingdome: for by adultery, *Roderico* last King of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*, committed with the wife of *Iulian* Earle of *Cemta*, when hee was Embassadour in *Affricke*, hee for reuenge brought the *Moores* into *Spaine*, who therupon subdued the country. *Osibright* King of *Northumberland* rauished the wife of one *Barne*, who to be reuenged, brought in the *Danes*, slew *Osibright*, and made great spoyle

spoile in the land. The Emperour *Claudius* married his brothers daughter, and she her selfe poysoned him. *Siphax* King of *Numidia* transported with the loue of *Sophonisba*, falsified his faith, lost his kingdome, and life in pryson. *Locrine* King of great *Britaine* put *Guendoline* his wife away, and married *Estrelde* daughter to King *Humber*, but *Guendoline* killed her husband in battell, and drowned *Estrelde* and her daughter in *Seuerne*. The Emperour *Commodus* kept 300. Courtizans, and in the end by one of them, and one of his Parasites was strangled. *Childericke* the third king of *France* for his libidonous life, which made him carelesse in gouerning the common wealth, was deposed. And *Lewis* the 6. king of *France*, for his adultery was poysoned

soned by *Blanche* his wife. *Helio-  
gabalus* for his libidonous & viti-  
ous life, thought he might make  
an euill end, and therefore if in  
case he should be pressed by his  
enemies, hee had poyson ready  
kept in pretious stones : hee had  
also halters of silke to hang him-  
selfe : and sharpe kniues of pre-  
tious mettall to kill himselfe : &  
hee built a high tower richly  
gilded to breake his necke vp  
on if he listed, yet all these de-  
uises failed him , for hee was  
strangled by his souldiours, and  
trailed vp and downe *Rome*.  
This is the end a libidonous  
Prince may looke for. But wise  
and vertuous Princes will auoid  
that vice. As did *Ioseph*, who ha-  
uing the wife of *Putiphar* in his  
power, would not touch her.  
No more would *Abimelech* faire  
*Sara*. Nor *Dauid* the *Ebritian*  
*Sunamis*.



*Sunamite*. Nor *Scipio* the Lady; who was Ostage in new *Carthage*; Nor *Dionisius* the wife of *Phocius*: Nor *Alexander* the daughter of King *Darius*: Nor *Augustus*, *Cleopatra*. And as it is hurtful for a Prince to be allured by a woman to folly, so is it not good for him to bee led by the counsell of a woman. For *Aristotle* saith, that part of a womans vnderstanding in which consisteth counsel, is imperfect. Therefore neither the *Romans*, nor the *Lacedemonians* did euer admit a woman into counsell. Yet *Theodora*, after the death of her husband the Emperour of *Constantinople*, was chosen Emperesse, & had the onely gouernment of the Empire, Which without the helpe of any, shee gouerned in great peace and prosperity two yeares, and then died

died, to the great griefe of all her subiects, who repented them not to bee gouernned by a woman. The Empresse likewise *Zenobia* in *Asia*, was a most singular rare woman. For *Obdinate* to her husband, chosen in *Asia* for their Emperour, and after killed by his kinsman, shee took vpon her the gouernment, and gouerned very well. She was constant in her enterprises, faithfull of her word, liberall in her gift, iust in giuing sentence, seuer in punishment, discrete in her speech, graue in her determination, and secrete in that shee did. She loued not to ride in a litter, but on horsebacke: shee was of stature tall, slender bodied, her eyes great, her forehead large, her face somewhat pale, her mouth little, and her teeth small. After shee was conceiued  
with

with child, she would not company with her husband, saying: that a woman ought not to marry for pleasure, but onely for procreation. Shee did eate but once a day, and that at night: she drunke no wine, but water compounded more costly then wine: when she went to campe, or to battell, or to skirmish, shee was armed, and euer when there was any seruice, she would bee amongst them. In the end the Emperour *Aurelianus* besieged her, tooke her prisoner, and carried her in his triumph to *Rome*, yet pardoned her for her vertue and valor, and gaue her certaine possessions to liue vpon. Shee liued ten yeares after, as greatly honored and beloued as *Lucretia*, of all the *Romane* Ladies. But this is (as the Spaniard saith) *Una golondrina que non haze ve-*

CHAP. 19.

*Principles for*

*rano.* One swallow which maketh no summer. Yet I could not but set downe here her perfection, she being such a mirrour for all Ladies.

CHAP. 19.

*A Prince to beware of Parasites.*

**B**UT there is an other creature about a Prince more dangerous then a woman, and that is a flatterer, who neuer sings other song then *placebo*. soothing a Prince in whatsoever. *Apelles* drew the picture of a King ( which hee sent to *Ptoholomew* ) set in a chaire of estate, with great hands, great eares, & besides him Ignorance, Suspicion, a tale-teller, and flattery: these will labour to be about a Prince, therefore a Prince must

must labour to auoide them. For an enuious and backebiting tale-teller, and a flatterer, are two most dangerous bealls: for *Diogenes* saith, that of wilde bealls a backebyter byteth the forest, and of tame bealls a flatterer. And *Hermes* the Philosopher saith, that as a Cameliō can change himselfe into all colours sauing white: so hath a parasite all points sauing honesty, for he windeth himselfe into fauour by any meanes, especially of pleasure, procuring any kind of mirth and delight, and by humoring the party. For *Alexander Magnus*, and *Alphonfus* king of *Arragon*, hauing each of the somewhat a wry necke, the one by nature, the other by custome, the flatterers and Courticiers held their necks on the one side. And like as wormes breed most  
of

of all, and soonest in firme, tender and sweete wood : euen so for the most part the generous and gentle natures, and those minds that are more ingenious, honest, amiable and milde then others, are rediest to receiue and nourish the flatterer that hangeth vpon him. And *Plato* saith, that hee who loueth himselfe, and hath a good conceite of himselfe, can be content to admit an other to flatter him. But when a parasite seeth nothing to be gotten, then hee is gone, being like to lice: For as these vermine neuer haunt the dead, but doe leaue and forsake the corps so soone as the bloud is extinct and deprived of vitall spirit: so a man shall neuer see flatterers approach to those that are in decay, whose state is cracked and credite lost. But where  
there



there is power and authority, & glory in the world: thither they flocke, and there they grow & shew theselues most malicious, sometimes by speaking euill of others. For *Medeus* the chiefe captaine of the flatterers about *Alexander Magnus*, taught his schollers to cast out slanders boldly, to bite others, for (said he) though the soare may heale vp, yet the scarre will remaine and bee euer seene. By these scarres of false imputations, *Alexander* being corroded and eaten, put to death *Calisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philocas*, his true and faithfull friends. The Emperour *Comodius*, after the death of his father was led by parasites, and vpon their false reports put to death most of those that were graue Counsellours to his father, and also many of the  
Sena-

Senators, and committed the government of all his affaires to *Perennis*, and himselfe followed his pleasure, which brought him to the end you heard before. The Emperour *Dioclesian* basely borne in *Sclauonia*, was in his youth very ambitious and desirous of honour, & from a poore souldier came to be Emperour, and then made the people honour him as a god, and to kisse his foote, whereon he did weare guilt shoes, set with pearle and pretious stones, after the manner of the *Persian* kings. But seeing in the end himselfe wonderfully abused by the flatterers of his Court, and that hee could take no order for them, they had him so besieged in their hands, he gaue over the Empire, and retyred himselfe to his house in *Sclauonia*, where he liued euer  
after

after a very private life, delighting himselfe with gardens and rurall workes. But the Emperour *Caligula* tooke a better course with his parasites, for one *Afranius Potitus*, and *Afranius Secundus* made a shew of great sorrow for him when hee was sicke, and swore by the gods that they would very willingly die for his recovery. The Emperour knowing they did but flatter, said then little, but being recovered, called them before him and said, my good friends, I have found that you are in fauour with the gods, for since your vow for me, I haue recoured, but fearing I should fall sicke againe if you accomplish not your vow, I sent for you to die, desiring you both to take your deaths patiently, and so presently put them to death. *Plutarch*

writeth

writeth, that *Dionisius* the tyrant of *Cicily*, delighting in his own poemes, asked diuers Philosophers how they liked them, they all flatteringly, highly commended them, sauing one, who said plainely that it is was a shame to heare them, they were so bad. Whereat the tyrant offended, commanded him to the mines, there to work amongst the condemned men: but being released by meanes of his friends, and againe in the Kings presence: when he demanded the opinion of the Philosophers in another of his Poemes, and they all extolling it aboue the skies, hee cryed to the garde of the tyrant, saying: come my maisters com, cary me away to the Mines againe, for I cannot endure this foolish flattery. The King by chance being then in a good humor

mor, was not offended, but turned it to a laughter. *Curtius* saith, that the states of Princes are oftener ouerthrowne by flatterers then by force. It is a happy thing therefore for Princes to haue those about them that will not flatter, but tell them the truth. For what (saith *Seneca*) wanteth he that hath all? marry one to tell the truth. Therefore the Emperour *Gordian* said, that that Prince is very vnfortunate who hath not about him those who may plainly tell him the truth. For a king knoweth not what passeth, but by relation of those that conuerse with him. *Theopompus* being asked how a Prince might preserue his kingdom, said, by giving his friends liberty to speake the truth, and in keeping his subiects from oppression. *Phocian* dealt plainly  
and

and like a faithfull seruant with King *Antipater*, telling him vp-on occasion, that he would doe him any seruice possible, but could not be to him both a friend and a flatterer. *Themistocles* in like manner, seeing *Euribiades* taking vp a staffe to strike him for his free speeches, said, strike mee, so you will heare me after. A Prince therefore must permit freedome of speech, if he meane to heare the truth and giue no care to flattery. *Pessenius Niger* a Romane Captaine hearing one praise and flatter him in his oration, said to him, go, go, write the praises of *Marius* and *Hanniball*, and of other old and valiant Captaines that are dead, that we may imitate them, for it is a mockery to prayse them that are aliue: and as for me, I will do good whilst



I liue, and be praised when I am dead. Yet *Agefilaw* king of *Sparta* said, that hee liked to bee prayed of those friends, who would not also spare to blame him, when occasiō should serue.

## CHAP. 20.

*What kind of persons to bee of a Princes Counsell.*

**A** Prince should bee very carefull in making choice of his Counsellers. For *Plato* saith, that many Princes are vndone, because they want faithfull friends and seruants to counsell them. Therefore *Alfred* king of *England*, sought out the wisest, and most learned men to be about him. *Alexander Seuerus* likewise made choise of honest and vertuous Counsellours, and displaced the vitious,  
and

and sought to know the truth of all things that passed in all places and Prouinces of the Empire. *Federicus Furius* opinion is, that Counsellours to a Prince ought not to be vnder 30. years of age, nor aboue 60. For (saith he) before he be 30. his vnderstanding is not settled, his experience little, his presumption great, his heate much, his thoughts light, and not of sufficient gravity. And that after 60. yeares his memory faileth, his vnderstanding weake, his experience turned to obstinacy, his heate little, losing occasion, his thoughts wearied, and able to take no paines nor trauell. Howbeit some haue bene able and sufficient enough after they passed that age, as *Camillus* who though hee were of very great yeares, yet was chosen Dictator:  
they

they finding his memory good, and his senses perfect: So many others haue bene since his time: And *Federicus Enrius* saith moreouer, that a counsellour to a Prince ought to bee either of a chollericke, or of sanguine complexion, for that those of that temper (saith hee) are witty, haue good memory, can discourse well, are of good iudgement, most louing, affable, loyall, liberall, and of great courage: and that the melancholike are base minded, vaine, enemies to noble thoughts, malicious, superstitious, and phantasticall. And *Socrates* saith, a Prince ought not to trust him that is couetous, nor him that is a flatterer, nor to make a passionate, or a too cholericke man of his counsell, nor a drunkard, nor any that is subiect to a woman.

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For

For it is not possible (saith hee) that they should keepe close his secrets. And *Pithagoras* saith, it is impossible for him to obtaine wisdom and knowledge, that is in bondage to a woman: therefore the Emperour *Alexander Severus* would neuer admit any Counsellour, or other officer, whether hee were of noble parentage, or had done him great service, or were commended to him, vnlesse hee were of good reputation, learned, of good experience, and of good life. And better, to informe himselfe hereof, he caused writings to be set vp in common places of the streets, desiring thereby the people to shew some cause, if they could, why such a man should not bee admitted to such a place and office, and would not suffer any office to be sold, because iustice

stice should not be sold. Yet the Emperour *Vespasian* at the beginning of his raigne, gaue the chiefe offices and dignities to the greatest theeves he could finde, and being asked why he did so, answered, that he vsed them as a sponge, for when they were full he would wring them, and confiscate all they had, and hang them. Some Princes doe place theeves in authority, not knowing them, but being discovered, it were happy for the common wealth, and good for the Prince, if they were vsed as *Vespasian* vsed his. And *Julian* the Apostata placed a cruell and troublesome Iudge at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and being told hee was vnworthy to gouerne: it is true said he, and therefore I placed him there, that hee may plague them as they deserue, they being

a troublesome and wicked people, but good men are alwaies to be placed in gouernment, that the wicked by example may amend, or be punished, and the good preserued. For *Picelatus* reputed that common wealth to be well gouerned, in which wicked men might beare no authority. And a Prince is to haue some for Counsell, some for execution: for very sildome doth it concurre in one man to haue wit to discourse well vpon any matter in Counsell, and to haue iudgemēt to execute that which by Counsell is determined. The Captaine *Picinio* was in consultation of a weake iudgement, but in executing any thing resolved vpon by Counsell, very ready. *Francis* the first, king of *France* did exceed all his Counsell in consultation: but in his execution



ecution was not answerable to his aduise. Pope *Clement* the 7. did exceed all other in Counsell: but in executing was inferiour to euery one. And as it is necessary that a Prince should haue a graue and wise Counsell: so is it requisite he should haue some about him for his pleasure. So *Alexander Magnus*, whē he went into *Asia* against *Darius*, tooke with him two of his most speciall friends and seruants, *Craterus* and *Hephestion*, very different in complexion, and in condition, for *Craterus* was graue, seuer, and stoike, and onely cared for matters of State and Counsell, being one of the kings principall Counsellours. And *Hephestion* was a yong Gentleman, of good complexion, gallant, actiue, and full of sport, and onely cared how to recreate

the King. So that *Craterus* was called a friend to the King: and *Hephestion* a friend to *Alexander*. But a Prince had need to be very carefull in choosing of his friend, to be inward and familiar with him. For *Augustus Caesar* did not receive a man to his amity and familiarity, but first did prove him, and found his vertues, fidelity, and loyalty, and those who hee knew to be vertuous, and that told him freely the truth in all things, and that did not flatter, and that employed themselves willingly & sincerely in his affaires, and after having had good prooffe hereof, he received them for his friends. *Alcibiades*, to try his friends, made them one after another believe, that he had killed a man, and they all refused to endanger themselves for him, saving one  
*Calias*

*Calias.* The Emperour *Constantinus* to make prooffe of his friends, made shew to abandon Christian religion, and to turne to idolatry, he was instantly applauded by a great number, whom presently hee banished the Court. For a Prince shall neuer want followers in any thing. The world counselling those that serue Princes to please them in whatsoeuer, though it redound to the losse of their soules, and ruine of the common wealth, for so they shall obtaine honour, riches, pleasure, and quietnesse: but what is their end? *Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt*, saith *Iob 21.* They lead their daies in pleasure, and in an instant descend into hell. For when they shall say peace and security, then shal sodaine destruction come vpon them, saith

Saint Paul, 1. Thess. 5. And Dauid saith, Psal. 36. *Vidi impium superexaltatum, et eleuatum sicut Cedrum Libani, et transui, et ecce non erat, quasiui eum, et non est inuentus locus eius.* I did see the impious mightily exalted and raised on hieght as the Cedar treee, and I passed by, and presently he was gone, I sought him, and his place was not to be found. Saint Augustine therefore affirmeth, that it is better to suffer torments for speaking the truth, then to receiue great rewards for flattery. And Saint Chrysostome saith, Feare not them that kill the body, least for feare of them, thou speake not the truth freely. And as Counsellours ought to haue freedome of speech: So Federicus Furius doth with a Prince, for titall of his Counsell, to aske counsell sometimes in things contrary to  
the

the good of the common wealth,  
and to his owne intencion. And  
*Demetrius Phelarius* counselled  
*Ptholomeus* king of Egypt, to  
reade bookes which treated of  
Kings and common wealths, for  
that in them he should finde ma-  
ny things which his Counsell &  
familiars durst not tell him. But  
*Aristeus* saith, that the greatest  
& best guard a Prince can haue,  
is to be accompanied with a  
great number of iust and ex-  
pert Counsellours, who through  
meere loue, setting their owne  
particular commodity apart,  
regard onely the profite and  
welfare of the Prince and com-  
mon wealth, speaking freely  
what they thinke. For Counsel-  
lours, saith *Iulius Caesar* in one of  
his orations to the Senate, should  
not be led by malice, frendship,  
anger, nor mercy. And if they

concurr in one lawful opinion, though the Prince be opposite, yet it is fitting he should yeeld to them. For so did the Emperour *Marcus Antonius*, saying: it must be as you will, for it is greater reason, that I being but one, should follow your opinion, then you being many, wise and learned, should yeeld to mine.

## CHAP. 21.

*Not good to commit the charge of the commonwealth to one Counsellour onely.*

**B**UT it is very dangerous for a Prince to be led by the aduise and counsell of one onely, or to commit the gouernment of the common wealth to one Counsellour onely. And so *Communes* doth witnesse, saying



ing: that a Prince ought to have many counsellours, & not to commit any cause of importance to one onely, and that all his Counsellours should be equall in favour: otherwise, if hee bee led onely by one, and make no account of the rest, not giuing them equall hearing, he may endanger himselfe, as did *Hieronymus* King of Sicily, who was onely counselled by his brother in law *Andronodorus*, who made him odious to all the kingdome and then killed him. *Stillico* likewise governed all vnder the Emperour *Honorius*. And to get entrance to make himselfe Emperour, tooke pay from the *Gothes*, of purpose to make them rebell, which thereupon they did, and by the aide they got, spoyled *Thracia*, *Hungaria*, *Austria*, *Sclaxonia*, and *Dalmatia*:

*Stilico*

*Stilico*, though hee might, yet would not quite ouerthrowe them, whereof *Honorius* beeing informed, put to death both *Stilico* and his sonne. Vnder the Emperour *Commodus* first *Perennis* ruled all, and for displacing the Nobility, and preferring base persons was killed by the souldiers. After him *Cleander* managed all, and a great famine and plague being in *Rome*, the people imputed the cause thereof to him, and thought to kill him: he to appease this sturranne vpon the people with the Emperours horsemen, and killed a great number of them. The Emperour fearing himselfe, sent for *Cleander*, presently cut off his head, and sent it to the people, wherewith they were appeased, yet in the end *Commodus* himselfe was killed. The  
Emperour

Emperour *Seuerus* permitted *Plautianus* to gouerne all vnder him at his pleasure, who in the end practised to kill him, & his two sonnes. But *Bassianus* the Emperours sonne vnderstanding thereof, and that his father meant to pardon him, killed him in the Emperours presence. The Emperour *Galba* was a good Prince and wise, yet suffered himselfe to be onely gouerned by *Titus Iunius*, *Cornelius Lacus*, and *Icellus Martianus*, who by their wicked gouernment made the Emperour to bee hated of all estates, and therefore the people murthered him. This Emperour was the more hated because he interteined *Halotus*, & *Tigenlinus*, who were principal seruants to *Nero*, and instruments in all his wickednesse. So *Otho* likewise Emperour

perour after *Galba*, though hee thought by good words and liberality to get the hearts of the people, yet did they hate him, for that he had some about him, who had bene instruments and counsellours to *Nero*. The kings of *France* for 40, yeares, giuen wholly to their pleasures, permitted the Maior of the Palais of *Paris* to gouerne al at his pleasure, which gaue oportunity to *Pipino* to make himselfe King: who being wise, vertuous, and well beloued, was thereby admitted their King. But the Emperour *Tiberius* giuing himselfe to pleasure, and committing the gouernment to *Seianus*, who grew proud thereof, and tooke vpon him as he had bene Emperour, and had statues made him, before which they offered sacrifice, and happy were they that had

had his fauour : The Emperour hearing of his pride, and insolency, committed him to prison: then those that did most honour him, contemned him, and spoke euill of him. And the Emperour put both him, and all his children to death. *Zoticus* had that credit with *Heliogabalus*, as hee was held Lord ouer all the rest, his counsell as a law, and by his direction all offices were sold: he made Consuls the sons of slaues and base men. And king *Attolus* gaue himselfe so to his pleasure, as one *Philopemen* gouerned him as he listed. Inso-much that the *Romanes*, when they did see any ship of *Asia* come by, asked if the King was still in the good grace and fauour of *Philopemen*. But *Charles* the 7. king of *France*, hauing diuers wise, and faithfull Counsellours

lours of meane parentage, at the time hee had ciuill warre with the Duke of *Burgondy* (whō the Duke of *Britany* secretly fauoured) moued the Dukes to peace, who answered if the King would remoue his Counsellours from him, and take others, that they would accord. Whereupon the Kings Council perswaded him to accept thereof, and they most willingly refused the Court, and retyred themselues to their owne houses, and so the warre was ended, Therefore a Prince should take care for the good education of his Nobility, and honour the noble and worthy families; whereby they may continue in the vertue and valour of their Ancestors, and the Prince thereby be the better serued. In *Rome* there was a law made, called *Pro sapina*, by which the



the off-spring of *Silvius*, of *Torqnatus*, and of *Fabricius*, were more honoured and priuileged then any other, because they were antient families, and more valiant then others, They had a law also, that those who were descended of wicked persons, as of *Tarquinus Superbus*, of the Consull *Escaurus*, of *Catelin*, of the Censor *Fabatus*, and of the traytor *Bicinus*, should beare no office in the common wealth, nor dwell within the circuit of *Rome*. But Nobility marrying basely, doe often times degenerate. For when nature (saith *Plato*) produced man, she gaue vnto him three properties of the mettals, as to those that were fit to gouerne the people, the property of gold: to them of force and valour to defend the common wealth, the property of

CHAP: 22.

*Principles for*

of silver, and the property of Iron and brasse to handicrafts men, and common people, to worke and labour. And he saith that marrying the Noble with the Ignoble, is to mixe good mettall with base mettall, which is the ouerthrow of Nobility, and changing of gouernment of the common wealch. Therefore he counselleth euery one to marry with their equals, Nobles with Nobles, and Ignobles amongst themselues.

CHAP. 22.

*A Prince not to place a stranger in authority.*

**A** Prince is also to haue speciall regard that hee giue not a stranger authority in the common wealth, nor trust him too much. For the antient Ro-

*manes*

*manes* would neuer giue any charge or office in the common wealth to a stranger, Inſomuch that after the battel of *Cannas*, for want of ſufficient men to be Senators in *Rome*, *Spurius Curius* making a motion to haue had ſome of the Latins choſen for Senators, they would not agree thereunto, but all hated *Spurius* for that motion. And *William* King of *Cicily*, deſcended of the houſe of *France*, making a Frenchman his Chancelour, the Noblemen much grieved thereat, conſpired, and in one night killed all the Frenchmen in *Cicily*, in *Apulia*, and in *Calabria*. *Charles* the 8. king of *France*, expulſed the Spaniards out of *Naples*, by the helpe of the Neapolitans, placed Frenchmen in all authority and gouernment there. Whereupon  
the

the Neapolitans grieued, made a generall reuolte, and did drive out the Frenchmen againe. The Duke of *Britaine* hauing married an English woman, was so affected to the English, as his subiects much misliked thereof, and he mistrusting them, sent for Englishmen to gouerne vnder him, but before they came, his own subiects seized vpon al the Forts and Townes in *Britany*, & forced the Duke to fly into *Englād*. The Prince of *Wales* placing *Englishmen* in all offices and authority in *Aquitane*, made the countreymen grudge thereat, and in the end reuolte, by which meanes *Aquitane* was lost. *Alexander* King of the *Epirots*, giuing entertainment to a number of the *Lucanians* banished out of their country, and after making warre against their country

country, thought he should be well serued by them, who promised to yeeld their country into his hands, but they made a secret compact with their countrymen to the contrary, for drawing the King into a conuenient place for their purpose, they shewed themselues his enemies, & he swimming a riuer, to escape, in landing was killed by one of them. The Emperour *Gordian* making an *Arabian* his Lieutenant called *Phillipus*, a man of base parentage, he procured the Emperours overthrow, and in the end killed him most barbarously. *Charles Duke of Burgundy* was betrayed by an *Italian*, the Earle of *Campobach*, and killed before *Nancy*.

## CHAP. 23.

*Dangerous for a Prince to take aide  
of a stranger.*

AND if a Prince take aide  
or succours of a stranger  
stronger then himselfe, he may  
thereby endanger his estate. For  
the *Estorques* called but to aide  
the City of *Vulture*, subdued  
it, The *Herules*, *Gothes*, and  
*Lombards*, called into *Italy* for  
succours, became Lords thereof.  
So did they of *Franconia* with  
their King *Pharamond*, by the  
*Gauls*, now *France*. And the  
*Saxons* did the like by *England*.  
The *Turkes* in like manner got  
the East Empire: and *Hungaria*,  
called first in by the Emperour  
of *Constantinople*, and by the  
States of *Hungaria*. *Cairadin* a  
Pirate called by the inhabitants  
of



of *Alger*, to expel the Spaniards, after he had vanquished the Spaniards, slew *Selin* Prince of the Towne, and made himselfe King, leauing the estate to his brother, *Aradin Barbarossa*. *Saladin* a *Tartarian* Captaine, called by the *Calipha* and inhabitants of *Cair*, to driue the Christians out of *Soria*, after the victory against the Christians, slew the *Calipha*, and became absolute Lord thereof. The *Romans* called into *Cicily*, by the *Mamertins* or *Campanois*, to aide them, did subiect both them, and all *Cicily*, in the end. *Francis* King of *France*, had aide of *Soliman* the great *Turke*, against *Charles* the fifth, who fearing by continuing the warre, that the *Turke* might get that footing as to ouercome al Christendome, made peace with *France*. But the the  
Turkes

## CHAP. 24.

*Principles for*

*Turkes Bascha* being in *Marcelles*, the King of *France* could not get him out, before hee had succours from the Emperour: who was forced to aide him. Therefore when Pope *Iulius* the second, *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, & *Lewis* King of *France*, had entred league against the *Venetians*, *Selin* the great *Turke* offered to send the *Venetians* succours, which they refused, fearing that accepting thereof, they should be in danger of the *Turke*.

## CHAP. 24.

*A Prince to get and keepe the loue of his subjects.*

**A** Prince therefore, to the end he may be strong at home, and need no forren force, should alwaies respect his owne subjects

iects (especially men of worth and seruice) as well in peace as in warre, that he may winne the loue and hearts of his subiects, the meanest whereof may be able to doe him some kind of seruice, at one time or other. For *Seneca* saith, that the onely inexpugnable force of a Prince, is the loue of his subiects. Wherefore the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, in his speeches to his Counsell, commending his son vnto them, said : It is not the abundance of mony and treasure, nor the multitude of souldiers, that mainteineth a Prince, and causeth him to bee obeyed, but the loue of his subiects. For those (saith he) doe onely long and safely reigne, who doe ingraue in the hearts of their subiects, not a feare by force and cruelty, but a loue by bounty

G

and

and liberality. And those that willingly yeeld to obedience, and are not constrained by seruitude, ought not to be suspected of the Prince. And subiects (saith he) neuer refuse to obey but when they are vsed with violence and contumely. *Misipsa* King of *Numidia* exhorting his sonnes at his death to keepe amity and concord amongst them, said : It is not the great forces, nor armies, nor great treasure by which a Prince should preserue and mainteine his estate, but friends, who are not gotten by force of armes, nor with money, but by good vsage and loyaltie. And *Cornelius Tacitus* saith, that a Prince can haue no greater, better, nor fitter instruments to keepe and conserue his estate, then good friends: Wherefore a Prince should

should haue care alwaies of his subiects and vse them well. For *Antonius Pius* would say, that he had rather preserue one of his subiects, then kill a thousand of his enimies. And *Pithagoras* affirmeth, that subiects are to the Prince, as the wind to the fire, for the stronger the wind is, the greater is the fire: so the richer the subiects be, the stronger the Prince. But where *Matcheuils* principle taketh effect, there the subiects must be made poore by continuall subsidies, exacti-  
ons, and impositions, that the people may be alwaies kept vnder as slaues, & feare the Prince, which course exstinguisheth the loue of the people towards the Prince, and ingendreth hatred. Therefore *Pithagoras* counsell is better. And a Prince to enrich his subiects, the onely way is to

keepe them in peace, without quarrels, and dissensions, and too grieuous exactions. Therefore *Phillip Commynes* blameth greatly such Princes as do not seeke to compound and end dissensions and quarels amongst their greatest subiects, but rather do nourish the one part, wherein they do but set their owne house on fire, as did the wife to *Henry the sixt*, taking part with the Duke of *Somerset*, against the Earle of *Warwicke*, which caused the warre betwixt the house of *Yorke*, and *Lancaster*. Likewise *Charles the 7.* King of *France* being *Dolphin*, taking part with the Duke of *Orleans*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, was the cause that the Duke of *Burgundy* brought *Henry the 5.* into *France*. And for exactions, the Emperour  
*Augustus*



*Augustus* made a law called *Augusta*, that no payment should be exacted of the people but for the profite of the commonwealth. And when *Marcus Antonius* laid a double tax vpon the people, they answered, that if he would haue two taxes in one year, he must giue them two summers, two harvests, and two vintages. For the people cannot endure to be ouercharged: if they bee, great inconuenience may grow thereby. For *Phillip le bel* King of *France*, being receiued in *Flanders* as Lord thereof, charged the people with excessive taxes, and suffered the French to commit all insolency and iniuries against the people, fauouring the Nobility, and exempting them from all taxes, impositions, and charges, whereupon they of

*Bruges* begunne to reuolt, and killed all the French in the towne. After this the *Flemings* ouerthrew the forces of King *Phillip*, and freed themselves from the French. Therefore if the Princes Counsell, or Nobility, doe yeeld to haue any thing imposed vpon the people, it is fitting they should not bee exempt, but beginne and lay it first vpon themselves as the *Romanes* did, for the people murmuring against the Consuls for imposing a great charge vpon them, Consull *Leninius* said: As the chiefe Magistrate is in honour about the Senate, and the Senate about the people, so ought he to be a guide, and the first to submit himselfe to endure all kind of paine and trouble: for if thou wilt impose a charge vpon thy inferiour, first  
begin

begin and lay it vpon thy selfe,  
and the rest will more easily fol-  
low: therefore let vs begin with  
our selues, said he, and so they  
did. The great impositions the  
Prince of *Wales* laid vpon the  
country of *Guienne*, was a great  
cause of the losse thereof. The  
Duke of *Orleans* gouernour of  
*France* for *Charles* the 6. was ex-  
treamly hated of the *Parisians*  
for a great imposition he laid  
vpon them, for reformation  
whereof, the Duke of *Burgun-  
dy* leuyed great forces, and in  
the end caused the Duke of *Or-  
leans* to be killed. The Duke  
of *Aniou* regent of *France*, lay-  
ing a great imposition vpon  
the people, a Collector thereupon  
demanding a denier of a  
poore woman for a basket of  
herbes, which shee refusing to  
pay, he forced to take her

herbes, but she crying, was rescued by the people, and an uproare did arise, which did great hurt before it could be appeased. The Earle of *Flanders* likewise, laying a great imposition vpon the people, made them rebell against him. And *Lewis* the 12. King of *France*, making warre against *Lodonike Sforce* Duke of *Milan*, who knowing himselfe to bee very odious to his subiects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing that they would abandon him, assembled the people at *Milane*, & to gaine their good wils, remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon the and gaue them many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings. But such hatred they had conceived against him, as all would not serue, for within few daies

daies after, they tooke armes, called in the French, killed his treasurer, and made him flee. When the battell of *Cressy* was fought, the people of *France* were in extreame pouerty, by reason of the euill gouernment of the publicke treasure, of the falsehood of the treasurers and Magistrates ( who enriched themselves by the pouerty of the people ) and of the increase of taxes, subsidies and impositions, which drew the people into dispaire ( oppressed also with famine and plagues ) that when the King would haue leuyed an other army, hee could not get the French to it. A Prince therefore should loue and cherish his subiects, but not oppresse them. For *Tiberius Nero*, when some perswaded him to take great tributes of the

CHAP. 25.

*Principles for*

Prouinces, said, that a good sheepeheard should sheare his sheepe, but not deuoure them. And *Lewis* the 9. King of *France*, his chiefe care in sparing was to ease the people by abating the taxes and subsidies laid vpon them by his predecessors. And that State (saith *Thales*) is best ordered which hath in it, neither too wealthy, nor too poore Citizens.

CHAP. 25.

*Who to haue charge in warre.*

**F**ORce and valour most properly should belong to the Nobility, and they thereby defend the people, and be their leaders in warre. Therefore for a Prince to take that charge from them, or to displace them, if they be sufficient, is not conuenient.



uenient, for *Perennis* hauing the whole gouernment vnder the Emperour *Commodus*, displaced all the Noble Captaines, and put other base persons in their roomes, whereat the army bee- ing grieued, pulled *Perennis* in peeces, as an enemy to the com- mon wealth. *Anno* enuying the glory of *Mutines*, tooke his charge from him, and gaue it to his owne sonne. Whereupon *Mutines* practised with the Consull and betrayed to him the towne of *Agrigente* in *Cicily*, whereby all *Cicily* was brought in subection to the *Romanes*. *Lexis* the 11. King of *France*, displacing the Noblemen and his good seruants, and giuing the offices to men of base quali- tie, ciuill warre did arise, but the King presently acknowl- edging his errour, restored them  
again

A seuer  
man not to  
command.

again. Yet it behoueth a Prince to be respectiue, and not to giue a charge to a seuer man. For sometimes a good Prince shall be hated for his wicked gouernour, as was *Scipio*, for the cruelty of his Lieutenant *Pleninius*. And *Lucullus*, though hee was wise and valiant, and did many exploits against *Mithridates*, and *Tigranes*, two of the greatest Kings of *Asia*, yet was hee so seuer and vncourteous, as his souldiers loued him not, neither would obey him in the end. Whereupon the *Romanes* set *Pompey* in his place, who by his courtesy and clemency wonne the hearts of his souldiours, and thereby brought all the East parts vnder the obedience of the *Romanes*, and so reaped the fruits of *Lucullus* labour, and had the honour thereof with triumph.

*Appius*

*Appius Claudius* vsed in like manner great rigour and seuerity amongst his souldiers, inso-much as they would do nothing for him, though he put some of the Captaines to death, but reioyced to be ouerthrown, to dishonour him. And at another time the *Romane* souldiours, for despite they had against the Ten-men, suffered themselues to be vanquished. And *Marcus Popilius* Consull subduing the *Ligurians* (now *Geneuois*) rebelling against the *Romanes*, rased their towne walles, tooke their armour from them, and sold them; and their goods: which the Senate thought to be a too seuerer and cruell part of *Popilius*, and an euill example for others to stand vpon extremity, rather then to yeeld, or to trust to the clemency of the *Ro-*

*manes*

*manes*. Therefore commanded all that were sold to be redeemed, their goods to be restored, they suffered to haue armour, and *Popilius* to be called home, and his gouernment giuen to another. Therefore a Prince for his warres had neede to appoint not onely a wise, but a temperate and a valiant commander. For (*Plato* saith) that a man temperate not endued with fortitude, falleth easily into cowardlinesse, and basenesse of minde : and that a strong and valiant man without temperance, is easily carried away with temerity and boldnesse. So was *Flaminius* ouerthrowne and killed by *Hanniball* at *Trasamene*, for not staying to ioyne his forces with the other Consull. And *Minutius* in the absence of *Fabius* hauing charge and command ouer the army,

A Cōman-  
der to bee  
temperate  
and valiant

army, vpon his rash attempt  
against *Hanniball*, had good suc-  
cesse. Whereupon he would  
needs haue the army diuided  
betwixt them, and haue equall  
charge, to which *Fabius* condif-  
cended. *Hanniball* perceiuing  
his rashnesse and insolency gaue  
him battell and ouerthrew him,  
but *Fabius* being at hand, gaue  
him succours, whereupon *Min-  
utius* confessed his errour. And  
then *Hanniball* said, that the  
cloude which had wont to hang  
vpon the mountaines, sturred  
with wind and tempest, was tur-  
ned to raine, for *Fabius* kept the  
heights, and would not fight  
but with good aduantage, there-  
fore *Hanniball* feared his wise-  
dome. And when *Fabius* had  
gotten the towne of *Tarent* by  
treason, *Hanniball* said, I per-  
ceiue the *Romanes* haue also their  
*Hanniball*

Not to  
fight fa-  
sting.

*Hanniball*. But at *Treue*, *Hanniball* defeated the *Romanes*, who came to battell fasting, which was a great oversight in the Consull. But *Hanniball* commanded all his men to eat some meat before. *Marcellus*, through the default of his owne souldiours was ouerthrowne by *Hannibal*: but his wisdom was such, as first rebuking his souldiours therefore, and then encouraging of them, he gaue battell the next day to *Hanniball*, and defeated him. But the Consull *Minutius* was of a weaker spirit, temperate without fortitude, for he being sent against the *Eques*, durst not come neere them, but fortified himselfe in his Campe, which they seeing, besieged him in his tents. Whereupon *Lucius Quintius* was created Dictator, who relieved him, and subdued the *Eques*



*Eques*, but would giue no part of the spoyle, neither to *Minutius*, nor to his souldiers, but rebuked them. So that wisdome, temperance, and valour, are necessary in a generall.

Dissention likewise in an army is to be auoided, for by the dissention betwixt the Consuls, *Hanniball* ouerthrew them at the battell of *Cannas*. Therefore *Claudius Neron*, and *M: Lucius* being enemies, and chosen Consuls, made themselues friends, for the good of the Commonwealth. So *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, sent Embassadors by *Athens*, did reconcile themselues during that imployment. *Cretes* and *Hermias* not freinds, and being in their Citty of *Magnetia* besieged by *Mithridates*, *Cretes* offered *Hermias* the charge of Captaine generall, and to depart  
the

Dissention  
not to bee  
in an army.

the Citty himselfe: or if *Hermias* had rather depart, then to leaue that office to him, least by their both being in Towne, iea-  
lously might grow betwixt them  
and breed hurt to their country.  
*Hermias* seeing the honest offer  
of his companion, and knowing  
him to be the more sufficient,  
yeelded to him the charge & left  
the towne.

Enuy in an  
army dan-  
gerous,

And as dissention is hurtfull,  
so enuy is not fitting. For the  
Frenchmen aiding *John* King of  
*Castile*, against *Denis* King of  
*Portugall*, had vpon their earnest  
requell, the point of the battell,  
which did offend the Spaniards,  
who were desirous thereof, inso-  
much that the Frenchmen gi-  
uing the charge, the Spaniard  
would not second them, but suf-  
fered them all to be slaine or ta-  
ken, and then they set vpon the  
*Portugals*

*Portugals*, who having vanquished the French, and seeing the *Castilians* come, killed all their prisoners, and then overthrew them also: Pope *Boniface* the 9. and the French King, sent great forces against the Turk *Baiazer*: their generall was the Earle of *Neuers*, who against the will of the King of *Hungary*, and of all the Campe gaue the first charge, and without order, and was overthrown, whereupon the army of the Christians fled. Anno 1396. by reason whereof the Turke tooke all *Greece*, and the greatest part of *Bulgaria* and then besieged *Constantinople*.

And it is also very requisite that the Generall should keepe his souldiers from idlenesse, for *segnities robur frangit, longa otia nervos*. Sloath weakneth the sinewes, and diminisheth a mans

The souldiers not to be idle.

mans force, and is the nurse of all vice, making a man most base. Therefore *Acleas* a King of *Scythia* said, that he thought himselfe no better then his horsekeeper, when he was idle. A vice to which Gentlemen alwaies haue bene too much giuen. Insomuch that in *Athens* (where they did not suffer the people to be idle, a Citizen being iudicially condemned for idlenesse, one *Herondas* requested one to shew him the party that was condemned for a Gentlemans life. In *Carthage*, to auoide this vice, the Noblemen did alwaies exercise armes, the common people laboured, and the learned men were euer teaching and instructing others. And in the Common wealch of the *Lacedemonians* none were idle, for all men laboured: and they

they sending one *Chilon* to *Corinthe*, to treat of a league, hee found the Magistrates idly exercised, playing at Dice: whereupon hee returned home, and would not speake of his commission, saying: that hee would not staine the glory of *Sparta* with so great an ignominy, as to ioinethē in society with such kind of people. *Marinus* caused his souldiers to make trenches when there was no cause, onely to keepe them from idlenesse. *Claudius* having an assured peace, for the auoiding of idlenesse, kept thirty thousand men, twelue yeares in working the channell *Fucinus*, that *Rome* might haue good water. And when the lawes were well kept in *Rome*, at the time they had warres with the *Celtiberians* in *Spaine*, and with *Alexander*,  
the

the Senators went three daies about *Rome* with the Censors, & could not finde one idle man for a messenger to cary their letters. But in *Marcus Aurelius* time there were plenty, for he confesseth that he banished, punished, and put to death in his time 30000. idle vagabonds, and 10000. idle women. And *France* being troubled with a great number of idle vagabonds souldiers, *Bertrand de Guesclin*, (to free the country of them) drew them all to go with him into *Spaine* against the *Sarazins*. *Bruce* King of *Scotland* exhorted his subiects to exercise armes alwaies, for that idlenesse would corrupt them, and for want of practise they would not be able to resist their enemies. A Prince therefore being the Lanterne to his subiects, should giue good example



ple herein. *Alfred King of England* had that care to eschew idlenesse, and to spend his time wel, as he diuided the day into three parts, by a taper that burned continually in his Chapell 24. houres, The first part hee spent in prayer and in study: the second part he employed in the affaires of the common wealth: and the third part he took for his recreation and rest. A good president for other Princes.

## CHAP. 26.

*A Prince to be well aduised before he begin warre, and carefull in his fight.*

**I**T is not for a Prince vpon euery quarrel to make war, but to be sure that the cause be good and iust, which then will bring honour to his person, safety to his

his soule, and great encouragement to all his souldiers. Yet (according to the saying of *Octavius Caesar*) neither battell, nor war is to be vndertaken, vnlesse there may bee euidently seene more hope of gaine then feare of damage: for such as sought after the smallest commodities not with a little danger, he likened vnto those that angle with a golden hooke, for the losse whereof, if it happened to bee snapped or brokē of, no dtaught of fish whatsoeuer was able to make amends. And it is necessary that a Prince, or his Generall, should consult and take counsell before he fight, for the aduice of his Captaines herein may do great good. Therefore the *Carthaginians* commanded those Captaines to bee hanged that got victory without any consultation

To consult  
before hee  
fight,

consultation before. And those that did first consult, and then were ouerthrowne, they did neuer punish. And hauing taken counsell, and resolution, execution is to follow without delay, least occasion be lost. For *Aristotle* saith, that a wise man

To be speedy in execution.

ought to counsell slowly, and execute speedily, and if victory be gotten, to follow it hotely, is the best, before the enemy

Not to linger in pursuit.

(being discouraged) be able to make head againe. For if *Hanniball* had done so after the battell of *Cannas*, and not lingred to refresh his men, hee had taken *Rome*. Likewise *Pompey* in a skirmish put *Cesar* to the worse, which if he had pursued he had quite ouerthrowne *Cesar*. Yet a man must take heede hee follow not the victory too fiercelly, nor out of order. For so *Phillip*

Not to pursue too fiercely.

H

King

Not to cō-  
temne the  
enemies  
force,

King of *Macedonia*, by follow-  
ing the *Romanes* too fiercely was  
defeated. So likewise *Gaston de*  
*Foix*, having wonne the battell  
at *Rauenna*, pursuing too fierce-  
ly a Squadron of Spaniards that  
fled, by them was ouerthrowne,  
lost his life, and made all that a  
prey to the enemy, which before  
he had conquered in *Italy*. And  
an enemy is not to bee contem-  
ned, though his forces be infe-  
riour, for oftentimes it is not the  
multitude of men that getteth  
the victory, but the couragious  
and resolute minds of the soul-  
diers, assisted by God. For King  
*Alexander* with 33000. foot-  
men, 25000. horsemen, ouer-  
threw the *Persians*, and *Darius*  
army of 400000. footmen, and  
and 100000. horsemen. *Robert*  
*le Frison*, with a few, and without  
experience, defeated *Phillip*  
King

King of *Frances* great army and old souldiers. The Earle of *Namure* with the *Flemmings* being but a few, ouerthrew the Earle of *Artois*, sent by *Phillip* the faire K. of *France*, with 4000 Frenchmen into *Flanders*, whereof 300. escaped not. At the battell of *Poitiers* the Priace of *Wales* with 8000. *English*, ouerthrew 40000. *French*, tooke King *Iohn* and his sonne prisoners, and also a number of princes and noblemen. *Henry* the 5. at the battell of *Agincourt* with 7000. ouerthrew 80000. *French*. *Simon* Earle of *Monfort* besieged in the Castle of *Mirebeau* in *France* by the King of *Arragon* and others, and hauing with him but two knights, 60. horsemen, and 700. footemen, hauing commēded themselues to God, sallied and charged the King so

H 2      valiantly

To keepe  
good or-  
der in  
fight.

valiantly that he ouerthrew his army, killed him, and 17000. of his men, and lost not aboue 8. footemen of all his. Therefore a Prince should not presume too much of his owne strength, nor be carelesse of his enemy, nor charge him but in good order. For, fighting without order, the *Carpentines*, *Olcades*, and *Vaceos* in *Spaine*, hauing an army of 100000. were ouerthrowne by *Hanniball*, for they trusted in the number of their souldiers, and kept no order. Both the *Scipios* being slaine in *Spaine*, *Lucius Martius* being a man of meane calling, yet a good souldier and of great courage, gathered the dispersed souldiers together and was chosen for their Generall. *Asdruball* making no accompt of him, set vpon him disorderly and was ouerthrowne, by which



which the *Romanes* encouraged, *Martius* in the night following set vpon *Asdrubals* campe vpon a sodaine, and killed of the *Carthaginians* 37000. and tooke prisoners 1830. And the *Carthaginians* seeing the *Romanes* wearied with the seruice vpon the sea, were perswaded that they would fight no more by sea, and therefore grew carelesse whereby they were ouerthrown by the Consull *Catulus*. And the *Romanes* held it not so good to defend, as to inuade, For they hauing first warre with the *Carthaginians* in *Cicily*, thought it better to fight against them in their owne country, then in *Cicily*, Therefore sent the Consull with forces into *Affricke*, which forced the *Carthaginians* after 14. yeares warre to seeke for peace, & to leaue to the *Romans*

Better to  
inuade the  
defend.

all *Cicily*, and the Ilands betwixt it and *Italy*, and to giue them 2200. Talents of siluer, and all their prisoners without ransome In the second warre *Punike* the *Romanes* hauing lost many battels, spent their men, and consumed their treasure, *Seipio* being chosen Consull, desired notwithstanding to go with an army into *Affricke*, holding that the best course to end the warre in *Italy*. But *Fabius* misliked thereof, as did also the most of the Senate, wishing him to go against *Hanniball*, and to driue him out of *Italy*, and so to quiet his owne country before hee invaded an other, alleaging also that they were not able to maintaine two so great armies, as one in *Affricke*, and another in *Italy* against *Hannibal*, who if hee should besiege *Rome*, *Scipio* could

could not so easily bee called from *Affricke*, as *Fabius* was from *Capua*, to succour *Rome*. They alleaged also the death of his father and vncke in *Spaine*, after their many great victories, and the ouerthrow of *Athens*, by sending a yong man to inuade *Cicily*: the vncertainty of the fauour of *Siphax*, and *Massinissa*, and the certainty of all those countries to bee their enemies. To which *Scipio* answered, that he was *Consull*, not to continue warre, but to make an end of warre: and that with greater courage a man doth assault his enemy, then defend his owne, and that *Agathocles* King of *Siracusa* seeing *Cicily* troubled with warre, turned it into *Affricke* from whence it came: & that a Captaine ought to follow his good fortune and occasion:

and that strangers should well know wee haue courage as well to inuade *Affrike*, as to defend *Italy*. and that there is a Roman Captaine dare vndertake as much as *Hanniball*, & will force him to returne to defend *Carthage*. In the end, after long arguing of the matter, it was granted that *Scipio* should passe into *Affricke*: which hee did, and forced *Hanniball* (after he had continued warre in *Italy* sixteene yeares) to returne home, then ouerthrew him, & made *Carthage* glad to accept of any conditions of peace. VVhich was, that *Carthage* should liue in liberty, and vse their lawes, and possesse the townes and countries they had before the warres: and that they should yeeld all rebels, fugitiues, and prisoners, and all their gallies sauing ten, and all their

their Elephants tamed, & should  
 tame no mo: that they should not  
 make warre, neither in *Affricke*  
 nor without, but by permission  
 of the *Romanes*: and that they  
 should deliuer 100. Ostages: the  
 yongest not vnder 14. yeares of  
 age, nor the eldest aboue sixty  
 yeares, with diuers other condi-  
 tions. The Oracle of *Apollo*  
 answered those of *Cirtha*, that if  
 they would haue peace at home,  
 they should make continuall  
 wars abroad, But a good peace Peace not  
 is alwaies to bee embraced by a  
 Prince, and also to be offered to  
 his enemy. For as the French-  
 man saith, *La roue de la fortune,  
 n'est pas tousiours vne.* The  
 wheele of fortune is not alwaies  
 one. In the first warre Punike  
*Appius Claudius* offered the  
*Carthaginians* peace, in respect  
 of the alliance betwixt the *Ros*

*manes* and them, which they refused: but after, they fearing the *Romanes*, sent to the Consull *Attilius* for peace, who denyed them thereof, because they had refused it before of *Claudius*: which made them desperate, and caused so long & grievous war. And after the battell of *Cannas*, *Hanniball* sending to *Carthage* for more aide, *Hannon* a graue Counsellour would haue had them to haue made peace with the *Romanes*, whose counsel they refused, which brought ruine vpon themselves. Yet *Scipio* (after hee had ouerthrowne *Siphax* and *Asdruball*) being sent to by *Carthage* for a peace, denyed them not, but said, though hee had the victory almost in his hands, yet would hee not refuse to treat of peace: that al nations may vnderstand that the *Romans* doe



doe both beginne, and finish  
their warre most iustly, & there-  
upon set them downe conditi-  
ons of peace, which they see-  
med to like, inrertaining the  
time onely till *Hannibals* com-  
ming home, who was sent for.  
And vpon his arriual, hee him-  
selfe moued *Scipio* to peace, who  
told *Hannibal*, that *Carthage* had  
but dissembled with him, till his  
returne, and broken the truce.  
Therefore he demanded an a-  
mends, besides the conditions  
first offered, which if he thought  
too hard, then to prepare him-  
selfe to battell. The next day  
*Scipio* ouerthrew *Hannibal*, killed  
20000. and tooke as many pris-  
oners. Then *Hannibal* confessed  
himselfe to bee vanquished, and  
told *Carthage*, they had no way  
but accept of any conditions of  
peace. *Antiochus* seeking to  
the

the *Romanes* for peace, had conditions offered, which hee refused, and was ouerthrowne, then glad to accept of any conditiōs.

Submissiō  
not to bee  
refused,

The Common wealth of *Tirus* sent to *Alexander Magnus*, offering him what obedience and subiection hee would require of them, so neither he nor his men would enter their Citty: *Alexander* refused it, disdaining that one citty should shut their gates against him, to whom the whole world was open: but after foure moneths siege, hee would haue accepted of that offer, and they then would not, being growne bold and proud. VVhereupon *Alexander* with a furious assault tooke the towne, spoyled it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, or to bee slaues: But king *Clotaire* of *France* refusing the submissiō of the *Turingians*, who had

had rebelled against him, made them desperate, and by desperate fight they overthrew the King, who hardly escaped. The Earle of *Flanders* likewise refusing the submission of his subjects, was by them overthrown, and in the end they submitted themselves to *Edward* the 3. king of England. By this it doth appeare what hurt may grow by not giuing peace demanded, & not accepting of peace offered. Therefore *Appius Claudius* of *Sabine*, because the *Sabins* would not yeeld to peace, did forsake his country, & went to *Rome*, where hee was made a Citizen of *Rome*.

FINIS:





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